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THE SOURCES OF TYNDALE'S VER- SION OF THE PENTATEUCH

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE DIVINITY
SCHOOL IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

(DEPARTMENT OF OLD TESTAMENT LITERATURE AND INTERPRETATION)

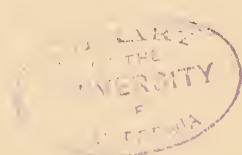
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CHICAGO

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

1906

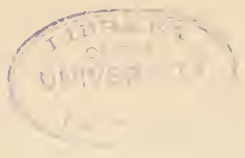


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Published August, 1906

Composed and Printed By
The University of Chicago Press
Chicago, Illinois, U. S. A.



THE SOURCES OF TYNDALE'S VERSION OF THE PENTATEUCH

Among the heroes and martyrs of the English Reformation none is more worthy of the historian's study than William Tyndale. The singular gaps in the records of his life, which have contributed to the popular neglect of Tyndale, remind one of the similar hiatus in our knowledge of Shakspeare's career; the more because these two sixteenth-century leaders, different in every other respect, were alike in the depth of the impression they made on the English language at a critical stage of its development. It is known to scholars, but hardly to the general public, that the English New Testament of our own time is essentially the work of Tyndale. A comparison of his pioneer version with the later sixteenth-century translations and with the Authorized Version of 1611 shows conclusively that all the changes and improvements from Coverdale down to the American Revision are numerically far less than the phrases and sentences of the exiled scholar of the Reformation period. As one begins to perceive that our rich heritage of perfect phrases and melodious rhythm in the English Testament has descended, not from the bishops of 1611 or of 1558, but from this much-abused martyr of King Henry's reign, the wonder grows that his very name is strange to the ordinary Bible reader, and that his romantic history is all but forgotten. No less intrepid and original than his great predecessor Wiclif, he lived at a time when the new learning made possible a translation from the original tongues, and when the English language had become more flexible, richer in synonyms, and better fitted to render the Hebrew and Hellenic Greek idioms without violence. No less aflame with indignation against the abuses of the priesthood and the wrongs of the English people than was Wiclif, he entered upon his work at precisely the moment when the long-smoldering fires of reformation wanted but a spark to set them off in England, as they had been kindled in Germany by Luther's attack on Tetzel. It was Tyndale's Testament more than Henry's divorce or the minor ecclesiastical reforms of the bishops that started the English Reformation. It was Tyndale's words that were on men's lips in the dark days that followed; Tyndale's matchless rendering of the gospels that the martyrs recited in their dungeons and at the stake; Tyndale's bold doctrines of scriptural interpretation that saved England from the bibliolatry of German Protestantism after

Luther's death. Some of his ideas were too radical for the age. Modern writers who suggest, as if for the first time, that the translator of Scripture should avoid words of ecclesiastical connotation foreign to the original learn with surprise and admiration that Tyndale substituted "congregation" for "church," used "love" in 1 Corinthians, chap. 13, and anticipated other modern innovations in an age when such ideas were strange in England.

It has been often said that in this popularizing of the Scripture, as in other phases of his work, Tyndale simply copied Luther. We shall have to consider at length the direct and the indirect obligations of the English to the German reformer; and shall find large elements of indebtedness which none would have been freer to acknowledge than Tyndale himself, had the question been put to him by his friends rather than by his enemies.¹ But this may be said at the very outset, that to charge a man with "copying Luther" is to pay him a unique compliment, for a more original and inimitable person never lived than the good doctor of Wittenberg, to match whose countless whims and fancies and homely German idioms would be a task for a master-actor. If it be true that Tyndale, moved by Luther's spirit and aided by his genius, brought the gospel to the people of England in a way as suited to the English situation as Luther's was to the very different state of affairs in Germany, it can hardly be a detraction from his merits to acknowledge the relation. The facts have long been obscured by partisans, who have sought to prove either that Tyndale worked absolutely without aid, or that he was a mere camp-follower of the German reformers. Like many other questions touching the Reformation in England, this long-standing controversy over Tyndale's originality has been entangled in ecclesiastical side issues and historical mazes, with which the modern investigator need have little to do. A study of the sources is much more profitable than a fruitless attempt to balance the prejudiced or ignorant opinions of superficial historians.

The present inquiry is devoted to a neglected phase of the work of Tyndale, of much interest to the Old Testament scholar, and not without its bearing on English literary history. Having published his version of the New Testament, and several doctrinal treatises to be mentioned shortly, the reformer proceeded to begin a much larger enterprise, which unhappily he never completed—the translation of the Old Testament. The Pentateuch was issued in 1530. It is a rare book, of which only a few copies exist, and never reprinted until the careful and admirable edition of Dr.

¹ On Tyndale's indebtedness to Luther see Eadie, *The English Bible*, Vol. I, pp. 143-46, 209-12; Moulton, *The History of the English Bible*, pp. 87, 88.

J. I. Mombert appeared in 1884.¹ This, the first English version from the Old Testament since the fourteenth century, possesses a peculiar interest for all students of the English Bible. When it appeared, the study of Hebrew was a novelty in England, the first chair of Hebrew in an English university having been established in 1524 at Cambridge,² in the year that Tyndale had left his native land never to return. On the continent scholars had been studying Hebrew, with the aid of learned Jews, for half a century. Hebrew studies flourished in Italy and Spain. Johann Reuchlin, Sebastian Münster, and others had cultivated the language with zeal and genius in Germany, and in several of the German universities great advance had been made in this difficult branch of philology. But England was a generation behind Germany in this, as she has since been in some other branches of sacred learning, and Tyndale, when he began his task of rendering the Old Testament into English, had no native precedents to follow. The interesting question arises: How far did he succeed in his aim? To what extent did he use the Hebrew in his version of the Pentateuch? Was he, as his detractors have declared, a mere dabbler in Semitic grammar, parading his etymologies of proper names to hide ignorance of the language itself, and depending almost entirely on the Vulgate and on Luther? Or was the father of our English New Testament also the father of English Hebrew scholarship, who, under many limitations, acquired in Germany an adequate mastery of the language, and made his own version independently and with scholarly discrimination?

That this is no trivial or academic question is shown by two facts: first, that Tyndale's Pentateuch is essentially our own Pentateuch in style and substance, and, so to speak, set the style of rendering Hebrew prose which, as carried out by later translators in the remainder of the Old Testament, has become the grand style for religious compositions in English; second, that, if tradition is to be given due weight, we are to attribute to Tyndale's hand, not only the Pentateuch, published during his lifetime, but the historical books from Joshua through Chronicles as they appeared in print for the first time in the so-called "Matthew's Bible," edited by the martyr John Rogers in 1536, and adopted by Coverdale a year later.³ It is the testimony of early historians that Tyndale left these

¹ *William Tyndale's Five Books of Moses Called the Pentateuch*. (New York: A. D. F. Randolph, 1884.)

² Robert Wakefield was the first incumbent. See *Athenæum*, 1885, pp. 500 ff.

³ See Deniaus, *Life of William Tyndale*, p. 478; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1484; Anderson, *Annals of the English Bible*, p. 295. Foxe's reference is as follows: "John Rogers brought up in the Universitie of Cambridge, where hee profitably trauelled in good learning, at the length was chosen and called by the Merchants Aduenturers, to

books in manuscript, the work at least in part of his imprisonment, and that they were secretly conveyed to Rogers and issued by him. On this hypothesis we owe to Tyndale nearly the entire historical portion of the Old Testament, comprising more than one-half of the whole. In the absence of any proof of this tradition, it would be improper to base any independent argument upon these books; but the certainty that Tyndale carried his Hebrew studies beyond the Pentateuch, and pursued them with eagerness up to the very end of his life, justifies us in regarding him as more than a mere beginner and amateur in the language.

The inquiry is the more interesting because it has been neglected. The historians of the English Bible, devoting large space to Tyndale's New Testament, pass over his Pentateuch with scanty mention, as a minor episode in his career, of only incidental biographical interest. The New Testament, of course, lay nearest to his heart, and was the work by which his influence upon the course of events in England was chiefly exerted. In it he found the true doctrine of salvation with which he sought to displace the erroneous teachings of the church; in it he found the true constitution of the church, which in his controversial writings he set over against the abuses of the hierarchy, the "practice of prelates" which disgraced Christendom. But Tyndale held broad views of Scripture. In his thought the Bible was a progressive revelation, no part of which could be neglected by the Christian believer. In the lives of the patriarchs, the story of the exodus, the history of Israel, he saw innumerable parallels to the experiences of the believer and to the progress of the church; and these depended for their force, not on any allegorizing interpretation such as captivated many of the later reformers, but on a just appreciation of the true relation between sacred and modern history.¹ He deprecated all attempts to veil the historical sense of the Scripture in elaborate mystical metaphor. For him, as for Luther, the men of the Bible were real men, with real trials and defeats and victories from which the Christian might

be their Chaplaine at Antwerpe in Brabant, whome he serued to their good contentation many yeares. It chaunced him there to fal in company with that worthy seruant and Martyr of God, William Tindall, and with Miles Couerdale (which both for the hatred they bare to papish superstition and idolatry, and loue to true religion, had forsaken their native country). In conferring with them the scriptures, he came to great knowledge in the Gospell of God, in so much that he cast of the heauy yoke of Popery, perceiuyng it to be impure and filthy Idolatry, and ioyned himselfe with them two in that paynefull & most profitable labour of translating the Bible into the Englishe tongue, which is intituled: The Translation of Thomas Mathew."

¹ For his view of biblical allegories and their legitimate exposition, one of the pithiest passages in his writings, see the *Preface to Leviticus* (Mombert, p. 294).

learn as from other biography, with added force because of the relation of these ancient worthies to events supreme in their sacred significance. The marginal notes which so scandalized Sir Thomas More and Tyndale's other enemies, lacking, as they sometimes are, in good taste, as when he appends to the inspired text sarcastic flings at the Pope and the bishops, convey to the modern reader a sense of reality and candor.¹ Here was a man for whom the Bible was a living book, in vital touch with the affairs of distant ages, having its lessons for priest and plowman, king and subject, master and servant, saint and sinner. As contrasted with the older exegetes and with the post-Reformation reactionary school, Tyndale stands revealed to us as in many respects a modern of the moderns in his attitude toward the older Scriptures.

Holding such a view of the meaning of the law and the prophets of Israel, he certainly did not look upon his arduous task of translating the Old Testament as an irksome undertaking, to be got through with in the easiest way possible, merely to complete his version of the Bible. Rather did he regard this great undertaking as the crowning achievement of his life, and gave to it all the learning and enthusiasm with which he carried through the earlier works of his exile. When the news came to him at Vilvorde that his days were numbered, and he faced death with his task more than half undone, it must have been the bitterest disappointment to him to know that the matchless poetry of the Psalms, the pleadings and warnings and promises of the prophets, must be rendered by other hands than his. History has shown that his successors were capable of carrying on the work in the same large spirit with which he began it, falling naturally into the style which he originated; so that the English Old Testament, as we have it, shows no break, but is essentially a literary unit. But the fact that the men who gave us the English Psalms and Proverbs and Isaiah could doubtless have translated the historical books as well as Tyndale, had his version never been begun, should not lead us to belittle the worth of that beginning, nor to underrate its influence on the subsequent history of our Bible.

We shall inquire, first, under what circumstances Tyndale gained his knowledge of Hebrew; second, what sources he used in his version of the Pentateuch and to what extent his work was original; third, what influence his version exerted upon later translations and upon English literature. These are the three phases of the subject upon which there has been most controversy among those writers who have dealt with the matter at all, and upon which no agreement has been reached. The uncertainty which

¹ See Demaus, p. 238.

still prevails is due in part to scanty evidence, in part to preconceived theories.¹

It will be desirable, before considering the first question, to introduce an outline of Tyndale's life, to serve as a groundwork for chronological references. The sources are not abundant. Foxe's account in the *Acts and Monuments* is the basis of all the later narratives. While biographers accept large portions of it as authentic, they reject certain statements which conflict with other sources, with less hesitation because of Foxe's well-known inaccuracy in matters of historical data. To Foxe must be added the indirect evidence in the controversial works of Sir Thomas More directed against Tyndale, a voluminous correspondence preserved in the English state papers bearing upon the attempts first to apprehend Tyndale, and afterward to induce him to return to England as a tool of the ministry; and a few scanty but interesting hints in the Belgian state papers relating to the imprisonment and trial. Autobiographical references in Tyndale's own writings are the most important of all, but these are unfortunately too rare and ambiguous to give much assistance in correcting the romancing instinct of Foxe and filling the large gaps left by existing documents. The materials have been worked up in Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*, Westcott's *History of the English Bible*, and similar works; but most elaborately and impartially in the standard biography by R. Demaus (London, 1871), which has not been superseded and is not likely to be. It is based upon a careful study of the sources, and is marked by judicious, but not intemperate, admiration of the great reformer. Mr. Demaus had access to many manuscript records not known to the earlier biographers, spent years in the unraveling of ingenious clues, and produced what will probably continue to be the authoritative life. For the study of Tyndale's New Testament in its historical and bibliographical phases there is a much larger body of literature, including bibliographical collations, facsimiles, reprints, etc. But for his life, particularly his work on the Old Testament, not much can be added to the list given above. The article in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (Vol. LVII, p. 428) by Edward Irving Carlyle is longer than that in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* or other general works of reference, but contains no new material, and appears to be based chiefly on Demaus.

William Tyndale was born in Gloucestershire² between 1480 and 1490. The date 1484 assumed by Demaus rests upon general considera-

¹ On the subject of Tyndale's Hebrew Scholarship see Demaus, pp. 217, 233-37; Mombert, p. lxxxvi; *Athenæum*, 1885, pp. 500, 562, an unsigned review of Mombert's book. ² Foxe, "About the Borders of Wales" (p. 1075).

tions rather than upon direct evidence. Of his early life next to nothing is known. He was sent to Oxford, entered in Magdalen Hall perhaps about 1504, and spent some years in the university, winning the bachelor's and master's degrees. This was the period when the mediæval seclusion of Oxford was being invaded by disciples of the new learning from the continent, and Greek studies were enthusiastically prosecuted by the younger men. Grocyn and Linacre were teaching the classic Greek; Latimer and Colet lectured on the Greek Testament. The influence of Colet, particularly of his lectures on the Pauline epistles, must be regarded as fundamental in forming the opinions of young Tyndale. In 1510 Erasmus of Rotterdam began his five years of residence at the sister University of Cambridge, whither Tyndale went to continue his studies. Here he imbibed the bold and radical views of the great Dutch scholar, whose contempt for the obscurantist policy of the church led him into utterances that aroused the hostility of the authorities. Demaus suggests that Tyndale's great purpose of translating the Scriptures may have been incited, or at least strengthened, by the views of Erasmus as expressed in a famous passage of his works.

How long Tyndale remained at Cambridge is not certain. By 1521, if not earlier, he returned to his native county of Gloucester to serve as tutor and chaplain in the family of Sir John Walsh.¹ Even in this remote country parish his radical opinions excited controversy among the neighboring clergy, and he was rebuked by the chancellor of the diocese.² It was during the two years spent there that his plan of translating the New Testament took form. In this purpose he was not moved by the example of Luther; for Luther's translation did not appear until 1522, and Tyndale can hardly have known much of Luther's plans prior to this time. Rather was this great purpose based on a conviction that reformation of the church in England must come in large part through enlightenment of the common people, who could not read the Vulgate and were kept in ignorance by the clergy. It was in controversy with a learned man of the community, says Foxe, that Tyndale uttered his famous promise: "I defie the Pope and all his lawes: and further added, that if God spared hym life, ere many yeares he would cause a boy that driueth the plough to know more of the Scripture, then he did."³

In 1523 the young scholar, full of enthusiasm and hope, departed for London, where he expected to secure the patronage of the new bishop, Tunstal, a man known to be interested in the Greek studies of Erasmus

¹ Foxe spells the name Welche (p. 1075).

² Foxe, p. 1075.

³ Foxe, p. 1076.

and More. His reception was unfavorable. The bishop, whatever his academic sympathies may have been, was an uncompromising opponent of the Lutheran doctrines then spreading through England, and dismissed Tyndale without encouragement. Having failed to secure recognition for his project from the man who seemed the most likely ecclesiastic in England to afford such help, he saw that he must work henceforth independently and in secret. For some months he resided in London with a wealthy merchant, to whom he had been introduced by Latimer, Humphrey Monmouth. In Monmouth's household he found that sympathy which had been denied him at the episcopal palace, met many learned men, and made some progress in his studies. Having learned that he could not with safety issue his translation in his native land, he left London in May, 1524, for Germany. Henceforth he was an exile; and his great work for the English nation was wrought in a foreign land, aided by foreign scholars, recognized during his lifetime only by the faithful Monmouth and a small group of courageous Englishmen who were later numbered among the humbler leaders of the English Reformation.

Reaching Hamburg, he lost no time in journeying to the Saxon city of Wittenberg to see Luther.¹ He arrived at this Mecca of reformers at a somewhat inopportune time for personal intercourse with the apostle of German Protestantism. Luther was in the midst of the busiest period of his career, when the land was torn asunder with the struggle known as the Peasants' War, and with the political upheaval consequent upon the contest between Leo X and the German states. Luther had published his New Testament two years before, and was now issuing controversial pamphlets, preaching in the university church, and working on his Old Testament. Nothing is definitely known of the personal relations of the English visitor with his German colleague. Those who deny that Tyndale made any use of Luther's labors go so far as to reject altogether the statements of early writers as to this visit to Wittenberg, but without sufficient reason. Assuming that these contemporary accounts are correct, Tyndale must have enjoyed in the university town a measure of quiet and sympathy which enabled him to make rapid progress with his version of the New Testament. Hebrew and Greek had been taught in the university for years. Disciples of Johann Reuchlin, the father of German Hebraists, were to be found there, as well as Greek scholars and theologians. During the nine or ten months of his sojourn Tyndale

¹ Sir Thomas More, *Dialogue, Conſutation*; Cochlæus, *Commentarii de actis et scriptis M. Lutheri*, p. 132; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1076. Demaus, pp. 94-97. *Contra*, Anderson, *Annals of the English Bible*, pp. 24 ff.

probably began his acquaintance with the Hebrew tongue, facilities for which were greater at Wittenberg than at Hamburg, Cologne, or Worms—cities where he spent the following years. For at Wittenberg he might have the assistance in his Hebrew studies of Christian scholars; while in the other cities he must depend chiefly or entirely upon Jewish instructors, many of whom were still suspicious of Christians desiring their aid.

With the help of his amanuensis, William Roye, an eccentric person who gave him more trouble than his work was worth, Tyndale translated the New Testament in less than a year. Believing it to be impolitic to have his work bear the imprint of a Wittenberg printer, and so expose it at the start to the censorship of German and English enemies, he removed to Cologne, after a trip to Hamburg to receive a remittance of funds from Monmouth. The printing of the book at Cologne was interrupted by the discovery of his project through the investigations of Cochläus, an agent of the church. With the sheets of the first part of the book, Tyndale and Roye hurried away in time to escape arrest, and resumed the enterprise in the safer refuge of the city of Worms, already a center of the Protestant movement. Here, from the press of Peter Schoeffer, was issued in 1526 the octavo Testament of Tyndale. The quarto sheets of the earlier portion brought from Cologne were also, it is believed, completed in that form, by Schoeffer or some other printer, and thus two editions were put into circulation. The only complete copies now in existence, however, are all of the octavo edition. Buschius states that six thousand copies of the Testament were printed at Worms,¹ and this has been supposed to include both editions. Of these six thousand only one incomplete quarto and two octavos are now extant.

Within a few months of its publication, Tyndale's anonymous translation reached England. In the spring of 1526 it was secretly circulated in large numbers. Coming soon to the notice of the authorities, it was condemned by Tunstal and others, at first without knowledge of its authorship, regarded simply as the work of the Lutherans, whose activity was becoming notorious. The burning of such copies as could be seized did not retard its circulation. An unauthorized reprint by Christopher of Endhoven at Antwerp² helped to swell the supply needed to meet the growing demand. Desperate attempts were made in England to buy up and destroy all copies that could be found. This brisk demand merely moved the Dutch printers to issue still another edition. Their two editions are said by George Joye to have numbered about five thousand copies. The

¹ Spalatinus' Diary in Schelhorn, *Amoenitates literariae*, IV, 231.

² Demaus, p. 157.

investigations set on foot by Tunstal and Wolsey finally succeeded in fixing the responsibility for the translation upon Tyndale and Roye. But Roye, already separated from his master because of his erratic habits, had been lost track of, and Tyndale managed for the time to elude the emissaries of the English prelates.

In 1527 he left Worms. Direct evidence of his residence for the next two years is lacking. For reasons of prudence he took care to keep his movements secret. It has been assumed, however, by biographers, from certain indications, that he made his home in the university town of Marburg, a center of Reformation influence second only to Wittenberg itself.¹ Here, in common with other reformers, he would enjoy the powerful protection of the Protestant Landgraf Philip of Hesse-Cassel, and the advantages of the new Protestant University of Marburg founded by that ruler. Here also there was a printing establishment less likely to be invaded by English spies than those at Cologne and Worms, conducted by Hans Luft.² Among his associates here was the learned Hermann Buschius, whom he had already met at Worms, and whose testimony to his learning is worthy of note.³ Another illustrious man whom Tyndale probably met at Marburg was the Scottish protomartyr Patrick Hamilton, who spent a few months there in 1527 with three companions.

In the following spring, May 8, 1528, Tyndale issued from the press of Hans Luft his *Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, a work on the Reformation doctrine of justification by faith, and *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, treating of the duties of a Christian citizen in his religious, family, social, and civic relations. Of the contents of these important works, and their bearing upon the English Reformation, this is not the place to speak.

During 1529 the attacks on Tyndale from English sources increased in violence. In particular the pamphlet campaign of Sir Thomas More against him began; a controversy which was renewed several years later and led to some of Tyndale's ablest polemic writings. During that year Tyndale visited Antwerp, presumably in connection with arrangements for promoting the exportation of his New Testament and other works. It happened that More and Tunstal were then on the continent assisting in the negotiation of the Treaty of Cambray; and Tunstal went

¹ Demaus, chap. vii.

² Dr. Mombert attempts to show that "Malborow in the land of Hesse" is not Marburg, but a pseudonym for Wittenberg. He presents arguments tending to show that Hans Luft was never in Marburg. See his preface, p. xxix. Cf., *contra*, *Athenæum*, 1885, pp. 500 ff.

³ P. 22.

to Antwerp in the hope of seizing some of Tyndale's Testaments. As in the former case, the purchase of a large supply for confiscation was easily effected, but the publication of further editions was thereby made possible. There is uncertainty as to Tyndale's movements during 1529. Foxe relates¹ that the translator sailed from Antwerp for Hamburg, was wrecked, with the loss of all his books and manuscripts, reached Hamburg by another ship, and spent some months there, from Easter to December, translating, with Coverdale's aid, the entire Pentateuch. The reference to Coverdale is not accepted as very important by biographers, as Coverdale could hardly have aided Tyndale in the actual task of translation, being at that time but slightly acquainted with Hebrew. The entire incident is believed by Demaus² to be confused or misdated, as it conflicts with the Antwerp anecdote about Tunstal, which is placed in the late summer of 1529. Demaus thinks it probable that, instead of going to Hamburg at this time, Tyndale returned to Marburg; and, if so, may have been present at the famous debate between Luther and Zwingli upon the eucharist, which led to the final separation between the German and the Swiss reformers.

Whether the work of translating the Pentateuch was accomplished at Hamburg or at Marburg, it was completed by the latter part of 1529; for the Genesis bears the imprint of Hans Luft, the Marburg printer, under date of January 17, 1530. The Pentateuch was not printed as a whole, but the several books appear to have been issued at brief intervals, perhaps in two groups, which were bound together. Genesis and Numbers are in black-letter; Exodus, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy, in roman type. No satisfactory explanation has been given of this diversity of type. Some have supposed that the three books in roman were published in some other city, but Demaus finds that all five books have the same form, the same style of ornamental title-pages, and the same paper. Each book has an introduction, marginal notes, and a glossary of Hebrew words and proper names containing the etymology of these terms as understood by the translator.

Having seen his Pentateuch safely through the press, Tyndale entered upon the most important of his controversial works, *The Practice of Prelates*. This was an attack upon the hierarchy, particularly the Pope and the English bishops, in which their excesses and extortions were satirically compared with the simplicity of the New Testament church polity. Wolsey came in for special denunciation for his selfish ambition, not alone from

¹ *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1077.

² P. 229.

the point of view of an ecclesiastical reformer, but considered from Tyndale's position as a patriot and still loyal supporter of the king.

The attacks of Sir Thomas More upon Tyndale were instigated by Tunstal, who wrote to him March 7, 1528,¹ requesting that he undertake the defense of the Catholic faith against Lutheran heretics. More was the most learned man in England, a Greek scholar, friend of Erasmus and Colet, author of *Utopia*, a defender hitherto of liberal principles in religion and government. The singular contrast between his previous career and the bitterness and narrowness displayed by him toward his exiled fellow-countryman, Tyndale, is one of the puzzles of literary history. The first volume of this controversy, *A Dialogue of Sir Thomas More, Knight . . . wherein he treated divers matters . . . with many other things touching the pestilent sect of Luther and Tyndale*, appeared in June, 1529, just before More left for Cambray. Tyndale worked on his reply during 1530 and published it at Amsterdam in 1531. More answered in 1532 with his *Confutation*, following this up with passages in the *Debellation of Salem and Byzance*, the *Apology*, and the *Answer to the Poisoned Book*. Much of More's bitterness was due to Tyndale's mistaken charge that the lord chancellor had been moved by mercenary motives in undertaking the task of defending the church against the reformers. The subject-matter of the volumes on both sides covers the whole field of the Reformation dogmas, the alleged abuses of the church, and the merits and defects of Tyndale's version. Notwithstanding More's superior learning in general history and politics, and the great advantage he possessed because of his official position and his intimate acquaintance with the rapidly changing internal affairs of England, he was unquestionably worsted in the argument. In his later works he shows that he himself felt this, and from urbane controversy he descends to vulgar and malicious abuse.

Tyndale in his *Obedience of a Christian Man* had laid down principles in regard to the supremacy of the state over the church in all civil affairs which now became popular in court circles at home. For Wolsey had been superseded by Thomas Cromwell, and it was Cromwell's plan to assert the rights of the king against the claims of the Pope. This new premier, only superficially acquainted with Tyndale's writings, believed that a pamphleteer so acute and eloquent might render valuable service in this campaign. He therefore, without full consultation with the king, directed the envoy at Antwerp, Stephen Vaughan, to ascertain on what terms Tyndale would return to England. It appears that this was not a scheme to entrap Tyndale and then put him out of the way, but a genuine

¹ Wilkins, *Concilia*, III, 711; Demaus, p. 263.

attempt to bring him back as an ally in the new policy inaugurated by Cromwell. Vaughan, after some correspondence with Tyndale, had three interviews with him at Antwerp during the early months of 1531, and was completely won over by the evident sincerity and power of the supposed heretic. He could not, however, persuade the exile to risk his liberty and his life by setting foot in England, where More and Tunstal were still breathing out slaughter against him. Meantime Tyndale's *Practice of Prelates* having come to the notice of Cromwell and of his royal master, the situation suddenly changed. *The Obedience of a Christian Man* was a pleasing book in a king's ears. *The Practice of Prelates* was rank heresy and treason. Cromwell, by Henry's command, made Vaughan cease his efforts to enlist Tyndale in the king's service. Before long Vaughan was superseded at Antwerp by a man of another stamp, Sir Thomas Elyot, and the attitude toward Tyndale became one of hostility. But for a time the exile evaded his enemies.

During that year, 1531, he translated and published a translation of the book of Jonah, with a prologue. Subsequently he suspended his translation work in order to enter upon the task of expounding the Scripture. In 1531 appeared his exposition of the First Epistle of John. In 1532, after he had left Antwerp, and while he was roaming from one German city to another, an exposition of the Sermon on the Mount was published. This was to some extent based on Luther's homilies on the same portion of Scripture, but was nevertheless an original work. In 1533 there was published anonymously at Nuremberg a treatise entitled *The Supper of the Lord . . . wherein incidentally More's letter against John Fryth is confuted*. This is attributed to Tyndale; it is an exposition of the sixth chapter of John. Written to defend Tyndale's friend John Fryth, now under arrest in England, it was without avail. Fryth, who had been with Tyndale on the continent much of the time since 1528, and was his closest companion, was tried, condemned, and suffered martyrdom July 4, 1533.

The vigor of the pursuit of Tyndale having now temporarily abated, he settled again in Antwerp, and spent about two years there quietly, busy with the revision of the Pentateuch and the New Testament. New editions of both were issued in 1534. In the revised edition of the Pentateuch the textual changes were confined to the book of Genesis.¹ Some alterations were made in the glossaries and prologues. The revision of the New Testament was radical and extensive. Prologues and marginal notes were also added. This revised edition was preceded by an unauthorized and garbled edition of the Testament by Tyndale's former friend,

¹ See a collation of these alterations in Mombert, p. ciii.

George Joye, who introduced a few changes for doctrinal reasons, and sought a scholar's credit for a piece of literary piracy. It led to a bitter controversy between him and Tyndale. Early in 1535 Tyndale had a second revision ready for the press, but was arrested before its publication.

The plot by which the great translator fell into the hands of his enemies was not instigated by King Henry nor by the dominant party in England, now by no means ill disposed toward him. It was rather the work of the Catholic reactionaries, foiled in their attempt to prevent Henry's breach with Rome, and furious against Tyndale as one of the leaders in the Protestant movement, as he was also the most defenseless. Betrayed through the treachery of a supposed friend, Henry Philips, he was arrested in the streets of Antwerp by the officers of the Emperor Charles V, and imprisoned in the castle of Vilvorde, eighteen miles away. The date of his arrest is fixed by a document still in the archives at Brussels at about May 23, 1535.

Efforts were made to save him from the heretic's fate. His friend Thomas Poyntz, at whose house he had resided for a year, risked his own life in the vain attempt to change the determination of the authorities. Cromwell, when appealed to, used some pressure to obtain the same end, but failed. The trial, before a special commission, occupied several months in 1536. Tyndale answered the elaborate charges of his prosecutors with ability and eloquence, but the conclusion was foregone. In mid-summer sentence of death was passed upon him. During his prison life he pursued his studies so far as he was able. A Latin letter written by him to the governor of the prison, requesting warmer clothing, candles, and the use of his Hebrew books, is still extant. On October 6, 1536, he suffered martyrdom at Vilvorde, being first strangled and then burned.¹

Having before us this outline of Tyndale's life, the first question bearing upon the subject of this paper is: Where and how did he learn Hebrew?

The answer to this question must be wholly inferential. Tyndale, so far as can be judged from the history of his early life, knew nothing of Hebrew when he left England in May, 1524. He was to some extent acquainted with Hebrew before writing *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon* and *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, published in the spring of 1528. He translated the Pentateuch in 1529. This fixes the period of his first Hebrew studies upon which his translation was based between 1524 and 1528.

¹ Foxe tells, in much detail, the story of the arrest, imprisonment, and efforts to save Tyndale's life (pp. 1077-79).

Between his arrival in Germany in 1524 and his arrest in 1535, Tyndale spent his time in the following cities, so far as can be discovered or surmised:

Hamburg: May, 1524
 Wittenberg: May, 1524-April, 1525
 Hamburg: April, 1525
 Cologne: April-September, 1525
 Worms: October, 1525-. . . (?) 1527
 Marburg(?): . . . 1527-August, 1529
 Antwerp: August, 1529
 Hamburg(?): . . . 1529
 Marburg: December, 1529-. . . 1530
 Antwerp: 1531-1535

Since his stay at Hamburg in May, 1524, and again in April, 1525, was brief, and the period of not more than five months spent at Cologne was occupied with the printing of the unfinished quarto New Testament, Tyndale learned his Hebrew in Wittenberg, Worms, and Marburg. Inasmuch as the early months of his stay at Wittenberg must have been chiefly occupied with the translation of the New Testament, not to mention the acquisition of the German language, we may probably place the earliest date of his Hebrew studies in the beginning of 1525; and inasmuch as the translation of the Pentateuch must have occupied the most of 1529, the study of the language preparatory to that task can hardly have continued much beyond 1528. This leaves four years during which Tyndale may have labored steadily or at intervals upon the Hebrew grammar and Scriptures. But there is evidence that by the second year of this period he had already made much progress in the language. Herman Buschius, one of the group of German Humanists which included Reuchlin, Erasmus, Ulrich von Hutten, and other leaders in the revival of learning, met Tyndale at Worms before August 11, 1526, and told Spalatin that the Englishman who translated the New Testament was "so skilled in seven languages, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, English, French, that whichever he spoke you would suppose it his native tongue."¹ We must allow for some exaggeration in this statement, since it is highly improbable that Tyndale could actually converse with any fluency in Hebrew, and unlikely that he had much fluency in the Italian and Spanish. But the words of Buschius, recorded by a disinterested third person, certainly show that Tyndale had made more than a beginning in Hebrew when he had been in Worms only about nine months. We are led therefore to assume a period of elementary study at Wittenberg during the latter months of his

¹ Diary of Spalatinus, printed in Schelhorn, *Amoenitates literariae*, IV, 431.

stay there (January-April, 1525); a partial interruption, possibly, during the busy period of getting the New Testament to press at Cologne and Worms (April-December, 1525); a renewed study, under Jewish guidance, at Worms during 1526 and part of the following year; and a further period of study in a university atmosphere with scholarly associates at Marburg, 1527-29.

It will now be necessary to examine the evidence for the theory above outlined as to the time and places of Tyndale's Hebrew studies. That he knew no Hebrew when he left England in May, 1524, is to be inferred from three considerations. First, Hebrew was not taught at Oxford or Cambridge prior to that time. Second, in the absence of Christian teachers at the universities, Tyndale, so far as we can judge, had no opportunity of learning from Jewish instructors during his sojourn in London (1523-24). There is no evidence that any impulse had yet reached England from the enthusiastic campaign of Hebrew study in Germany started by the Pfefferkorn-Reuchlin controversy. Third, there is no evidence that copies of the *Rudimenta Linguae Hebraicae* of Reuchlin (1506) or other grammatical manuals had reached England during Tyndale's residence at the universities. So we conclude, in the absence of any proof or contemporary hint to the contrary, that neither from Christians, Jews, nor books did Tyndale learn anything of Hebrew in England.

Evidence of the progress of Tyndale's Hebrew studies, in addition to the testimony of Buschius in the summer of 1526, is found in the two doctrinal treatises published in the spring of 1528, *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon* and *The Obedience of a Christian Man*.

In *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon* appears this remark on the word "Mammon":

First, Mammon is a Hebrew word and signifieth riches or temporal goods, namely all superfluity, and all that is above necessity and that which is required unto our necessary uses wherewith a man may help another without undoing or hurting himself: for *hamon* in the Hebrew speech, signifies a multitude or abundance of money, and therehence cometh *mahamon* or *mammon*, abundance or plenteousness of goods or riches.¹

In *The Obedience of a Christian Man* is this comment on the Hebrew idiom:

St. Jerome also translated the Bible into the mother tongue, why may not we also? They will say it cannot be translated into our tongue, it is so rude. It is not so rude as they are false liars. For the Greek tongue agreeth more with the English than with the Latin. And the properties of the Hebrew tongue

¹ *The Fathers of the English Church*, Vol. I, p. 103.

agreeth a thousand times more with the English than with the Latin. The manner of speaking is both one, so that in a thousand places thou needest not but to translate it into the English word for word, when thou must seek a compass in the Latin.¹

With reference to the places where Tyndale learned Hebrew and the sources of his knowledge many inferential conclusions can be drawn from the well-known history of the Talmud controversy which ushered in the Reformation.

Johann Reuchlin was the first German Christian to study Hebrew. Born at Pforzheim in 1455, educated in Greek at Paris and Basel, he became a teacher of the classics, though also practicing the profession of law. In middle life, after a brilliant career in diplomatic service, he began the serious study of Hebrew with Loans, the Jewish physician to the emperor Frederick III. In 1498 at Rome he continued these studies with another learned Jew, Obadiah Sforzo. Returning to Germany, he began to teach the language to the many eager humanists at Heidelberg, Stuttgart, and other cities where the Greek learning was already cultivated. In 1506 he issued his *Rudimenta Linguae Hebraicae*, the first Hebrew grammar in a European language for the use of Christians, if we except the brief and imperfect sketch published in 1503 by Conrad Pellicanus, who had learned something of the language by working over Hebrew manuscripts almost without instruction. In 1512 Reuchlin issued the Hebrew text of the penitential Psalms with grammatical notes. He was regarded as the most learned Hebraist in Germany, though during the first decade of the century numerous competent scholars had followed his example and studied the language under the guidance of learned Jews in Germany, Italy, and France.

When therefore in 1509 an attack on the Jews and confiscation of their books were planned by certain of the Dominican monks of Cologne, led by John Pfefferkorn, it was to Reuchlin that the emperor, Maximilian, referred this subject to investigate and report. His reply, defending the Jewish books against the charge of insulting Christianity, angered his enemies beyond measure. A controversy ensued which lasted for six years, and ultimately involved all the representative men of Germany on one side or the other; the Humanists siding with Reuchlin in defense of the Jews, the ecclesiastics and many of the university faculties against him. Though Reuchlin escaped condemnation in the proceedings brought against him for his refusal to recant, he suffered much abuse and material

¹ *Doctrinal Treatises and Introductions to Different Portions of the Holy Scriptures* (Parker Society edition, 1848), p. 148.

losses for his stand. It was the indignation aroused among the liberals by the bigotry displayed in this controversy, together with the satires of the *Encomium Moriae* and the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*, which prepared the way for the Lutheran Reformation.

The bearing of this Reuchlin-Pfefferkorn controversy upon the general introduction of Hebrew instruction into German universities is obvious. When the young Humanists, hitherto content with the newly discovered riches of the Greek classics, found themselves forbidden by the obscurantist party in the church to read the dangerous Jewish works or to attempt to study the Old Testament in the original, that was the very thing they were the most eager to do. Accordingly, the natural course of events was hastened; the Hebrew instruction, which under normal conditions might have taken a generation to spread through the universities, and become popular, sprang at once into a place second only to Greek. The demand for teachers sent many men to Reuchlin, Sebastian Münster, Pellicanus, and the other pioneers, for grounding in the hitherto despised language. Textbooks were issued in rapid succession.¹

Thus, when Tyndale reached Germany, Hebrew was no longer a novelty in the centers of learning. Reuchlin was dead, but his younger associates and pupils were fairly well equipped to carry on his work.

¹ The following list of Hebrew textbooks published from 1500 to 1530 is given in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*. Many of these ran through several editions.

- 1504. Pellicanus, Conrad. *De modo legendi et intelligendi Hebraeum* (Strasburg).
- 1506. Reuchlin, Johann. *Rudimenta Linguae Hebraicae una cum Lexico* (Pforzheim).
- 1508. Tissardus, Franciscus. *Grammatica Hebraica et Graeca* (Paris).
- 1513-1521. Guidaccerius, Agathius. *Institutiones Graecae Hebraicae* (Rome).
- 1516. Capito, W. F. *Institutiuncula in Hebraicam Linguam* (Basel).
- 1518. Boeschenstein, John. *Hebraicae Grammaticae Institutiones* (Wittenberg).
- 1502. Münster, Sebastian. *Epitome Hebraicae Grammaticae* (Basel).
- 1520. Pagninus, Sanct. *Institutiones Hebraicae* (Lyons).
- 1522. Anonymous. *Rudimenta Hebraicae Grammaticae* (Basel).
- 1524. Münster, Sebastian. *Institutiones Grammaticae in Hebraicam Linguam* (Basel).
- 1525. Aurigallus, Matthew. *Compendium Hebraicae Chaldaeeque Grammaticae* (Wittenberg).
- 1526. Zamorensis, Alphonsus. *Introductiones Artis Grammaticae Hebraicae* (Complutum).
- 1528. Van Campen, John. *Ex Variis Libellis Eliae . . . quidquid ad Graecam Hebraicam est necessarium* (Louvain).
- 1528. Fabricius, Theodorus. *Institutiones Linguae Sanctae* (Cologne).
- 1528. Pagninus, Sanct. *Institutionum Hebraicarum Abbreuiatio* (Lyons).
- 1529. Clendardus, Nicolas. *Tabulae in Graecam Hebraicam* (Louvain).
- 1530. Sebastianus, Augustus. *Grammatica Linguae Ebraae* (Marburg).

Chairs of Hebrew existed at Heidelberg, Wittenberg,¹ and perhaps at others of the universities, while one was established at the new University of Marburg about the time of Tyndale's arrival there.

When Tyndale, in the year 1529, set about the work of translating the Pentateuch, his equipment for the task was by no means meager. He had, first of all, acquired facility in the difficult art of translation by his New Testament. In that task he had chosen the style which seemed best fitted for rendering the Scriptures—a style so simple in its structure, so close to the paratactic quality of Hellenic Greek, that it is well-nigh transparent. The reader imagines he is reading the one inevitable, obvious sentence which alone could render the original into English; and not until it is compared with the painful artificialities of modern attempts to translate the New Testament into contemporary speech, not until the scholar compares Tyndale's Testament with the current English of the early Tudor period, is the full significance of this first modern version perceived. Those who are never content to leave a writer more than the merest vestige of originality point to Wiclif's version, and seek by parallel columns to demonstrate Tyndale's heavy indebtedness of Wiclif. It is not to be denied that manuscript copies of Wiclif's Testament circulated freely as late as the latter half of the fifteenth century, and that Tyndale was, of course, familiar with it. Neither can it be denied that in the choice of words, notwithstanding the obsolete diction of the earlier translator, Tyndale was often content to adopt phrases that commended themselves to him. No friend of Tyndale needs to exalt him by depreciating Wiclif. But Tyndale expressly declares that he was not dependent on his predecessor, making his own translation throughout rather than revising the old.²

On the question of Tyndale's English style as a translator we have fortunately a considerable basis for comparison in his voluminous doctrinal, controversial, and expository works. As might be expected, in these writings the sentences are longer, the rhetorical balance more elaborate; but both in invective and in exhortation, in the biting epigram and the eloquent homily, we find evidence of that genius for cadences and rhythmic flow of syllables which marks our English Bible above all other works of English prose. The only writers of his age in whom we find this style

¹ Among the Hebraists in Luther's circle at Wittenberg were Matthæus Aurogallus, Johann Forster, Bernhard Ziegler, and George Rörer. See Buchwald, *Doktor Martin Luther*, p. 321.

² "I had no man to counterfeit, neither was helped with English of any that had interpreted the same or such like another in the Scripture beforetime" ("Epistle to the Reader," subjoined to the New Testament).

developed, with its nice balance of the Latin and Anglo-Saxon words and syntax, are Latimer, in his sermons, for the short sentence and pithy phrase, and Cranmer, translator of the larger part of the *Prayer Book* for the rhythms. It was not the common style of learned men in the reign of Henry VIII. Sir Thomas More shows few traces of it. He writes a Latinized English without flexibility and without melody. The English version of the *Utopia* is, of course, not by More at all, but by one Ralph Robinson, and belongs to the following generation.

This style of Tyndale's, which set the fashion for Coverdale and all his successors, owes not a little of its charm to the fact that it was shaped in its phrasing by the loose syntactical structure of the Greek Testament. It is to be noted that among the numerous translations of the Early Tudor period those from the French—for example, Lord Berners' version of Froissart—most nearly approach this style of Tyndale's; and for the obvious reason that the translator in each case happened to be too good a scholar to paraphrase in Latinized periods a narrative told in short words and co-ordinate clauses. We have but to compare Tyndale at his worst—that is, in his most vehement tirades against More—with the typical pamphlets and formal correspondence of Henry's reign, to feel instantly the individuality of the man and his feeling for the new English prose that had so lately come into being.

If this was the first and one of the most important of Tyndale's qualifications, when he undertook the translation of the Pentateuch, a second was his Hebrew studies, already referred to. The apparatus at his command can be estimated with some approach to probability.

For Hebrew grammar he had at his command the considerable number of textbooks enumerated above, of which those by Reuchlin (1506), Münster (1520), and the two published at Wittenberg by the leading Hebraists there, Boeschenstein (1518) and Aurigallus (1525), were probably his chief authorities, since they would naturally be the most accessible.

For lexicons he had the vocabulary accompanying Reuchlin's *Rudimenta* (1506), Sebastian Münster's *Lexicon hebraicum chaldaicum* (Basel, 1508, 1523), and perhaps Pagninus' *Thesaurus linguae sanctae sive lexicon hebraicum* (Lyons, 1529).

For the Hebrew text there was no want of printed editions. At least five had been printed in Italy and Spain since 1488, the most popular of which was that of Bomberg, published at Venice in 1517. This included the Targum of Onkelos on the Pentateuch, of which Tyndale is supposed by some editors to have made occasional use.

For the Vulgate there were, of course, many printed editions. Of the

Septuagint, editions were to be found in the *Complutensian Polyglot* (1514), the Aldine edition (1518), and the Strasburg edition of 1526.

Luther's translation of the five books of Moses, the first part of his Old Testament, appeared in 1523, and was of course constantly before Tyndale in his work.

The question arises whether Tyndale had with him in Germany a manuscript of the Wiclifite Old Testament by Nicholas de Hereford or its revision by John Purvey, or whether such resemblances as can be traced between these early versions and his are either accidental or due to recollections of a version familiar to him in his youth. These resemblances are much less numerous than in the New Testament, where there is no possible doubt that Tyndale used Wiclif's work. If Foxe's story of the shipwreck on the voyage to Hamburg in 1529 be accepted,¹ we must conclude that any such manuscript of either of the fourteenth-century Old Testament versions, even if Tyndale originally had one and used it in his first draft of Deuteronomy, was lost in that disaster; and it does not seem likely that it could be promptly replaced by friends in England in time to be used in the work on the Pentateuch.

We come now to the central problem of this inquiry: To what extent did Tyndale use the Hebrew in his Pentateuch?

This question is to be decided only by a comparison of his version with the original, with the Vulgate, with Luther's version, and with Hereford's and Purvey's. It is not so easy of settlement as prejudiced writers on either side have attempted to prove. If his authorship of the books from Joshua to Chronicles in Rogers' and Coverdale's Bibles could be assumed, we should have a larger basis for induction. The Pentateuch consists so largely of straightforward narrative, in which alternative renderings of the Masoretic text are seldom possible; it has so few obscurities as compared with the poetical and prophetic books, that we may diligently compare many chapters in Tyndale, Luther, and the Vulgate, as the present writer has done, without being able to find a single datum for our inquiry. On the other hand, there are in the Pentateuch certain well-known difficulties, due either to rare words, poetic diction, or a corrupt text, which afford a more promising field for such study.

It would be manifestly impracticable to present here in parallel columns the several versions of the entire Pentateuch, or of an entire book. Four-fifths of such material would yield negative results. The method chosen, after a comparison of the entire Pentateuch in the manner indicated, is to select such chapters as offer tangible evidence upon one side or the other—

¹ *Acts and Monuments*, p. 1077.

Tyndale's originality on the one hand, his dependence on the Vulgate and Luther on the other hand. Words and phrases presenting variations deemed significant for one reason or another are quoted, with their equivalents in the Hebrew, the Septuagint, the Vulgate, the two Wiclifite versions, and Luther's version. The first chapter of Genesis is given entire, as a fair specimen of straight narrative prose, and the number and character of data for our inquiry to be found in such prose. Isolated passages from Genesis present further typical examples. From the three considerable poetic pieces in the Pentateuch, Genesis, chap. 49, Deuteronomy, chaps. 32 and 33, are taken such passages as show facts bearing on the discussion; affording, by reason of their difficulties, more numerous tangible instances of dependence or independence than any other portion of the material.

For the Hebrew the Masoretic text is given; for the Septuagint, Swete's text;¹ for the Vulgate, the standard Vatican edition, from a copy printed at Frankfort in 1829 collated with a Venetian edition of 1478 (Newberry Library); for Hereford and Purvey, the edition of the Wiclif Bible by Forshall and Madden (Oxford, 1850); for Luther, a Bible printed at Frankfort in 1583, now in the Newberry Library; for Tyndale, the critical reprint edited by Dr. J. I. Mombert (New York, 1884), the only reprint ever made of Tyndale's Pentateuch. Dr. Mombert's work was conducted with every precaution to insure literal accuracy of reproduction, and is to be depended on so far as the text is concerned. His introduction contains a large amount of bibliographical and other information, together with certain conclusions as to the unsettled historical questions of Tyndale's life, which are at some points in conflict with other authorities. He has also taken the singular course of appending to the text of the Pentateuch, in the form of footnotes, glosses selected from Luther's version and the Rogers Bible of 1537, which at times are confusing to the student. The book was unfavorably reviewed in the *Athenæum* (1885, Vol. I, pp. 500, 562). The reviewer points out many alleged errors in Mombert's bibliographical statements, and ridicules his theory that the Pentateuch was really printed at Wittenberg instead of Marburg. He does not, however, criticise in any respect the fidelity of the reprint of the text of the Pentateuch, with which we are here concerned.

¹ The Hebrew and Greek have been collated with the texts in Walton's *Polyglot* (1657), no copy of the *Complutensian Polyglot* first edition being available. No variations from the modern text were found in the passages herein quoted.

Gen. 1:1	HEBREW HEB.	LXX	VULGATE V	HEREFORD H	PURVEY P	LUTHER L	TYNDALE T	REMARKS
	בראשית ברא אלהים את השמים והא ארץ: הארץ הייתה החל ריקה החשך על פני המים והרוח אלהים מרחפת על פני המים:	Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν. ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀβυσσος καὶ ἀκατακείμε- νος, καὶ σκοτός ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύ- σσου· καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπ' ἐρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος.	In principio creavit Deus caelum, et terram. Terra autem erat inanis et vacua, et tenebrae erant su- per faciem abyssi; et Spiritus Dei ferebatur super aquas. Dixitque Deus: Fiat lux. Et facta est lux. Et vidit Deus lucem quod esset bona; et divisit lucem a tenebris. Appellavitque lucem Diem et tenebras Noctem, factum- que est vespere et mane, dies unus.	In the firste made God of nougt hevene and erthe. The erthe forsothe was veyn with yunc and void, and derknessis weren vpon the face of the see; and the Spiryt of God was born vpon the watrys. And God seide, Be maad light: and maad is light. And God sawg light, that it was good; and deuydyd light fro derknessis. And clepide light, day. And derknessis, nygt. And maad is euen and moru. o day.	In the begynnyng God made of nougt hevene and erthe. Forsothe the erthe was idel and voide, and derknessis weren on the face of dephce; and the Spiryt of the Lord was borun on the watris. And God seide, Ligt be maad, and ligt was maad. And God seig the ligt, that it was good, and he de- paride the ligt fro derknessis; And he clepide the ligt, dai, and the derknessis, nygt. And the euentid was and morwetid was maad, o daie.	Am Anfang schuff Gott Himmel und Erden. Und die Erde war wüst und lár und es war finster auff der Tyele und der Geist Gottes schwebt auff dem Wasser. Und Gott sprach: Es werde liecht. Und es ward liecht. Und Gott sahe daz das Liecht gut war. Da schein- det Gott das Liecht vom finsternisz, Und nennet das Liecht Tag und die Finsternisz Nacht. Da ward ausz abend und morgne der erste Tag.	In the begynnyng God created heaven and erth. The erth was voyde and emptie, and darknesse was vpon the depe, and the spirite of god moved vpon the water. Than God sayd: let there be lyghte and there was lyghte. And God sawe the lyghte that it was good: & deuyded the lyghte from the darknesse And called the lyghte daye, and the darknesse nyghte; and so of the evenyng and mornynge made the fyrst daye.	Omits definite arti- cle following V H P L against Heb. LXX. Follows LXX & L in omitting the idiomatic Hebrew פני Follows L against LXX V H P.
	והאמר אלהים יהי אור ויהי אור: והאמר אלהים אז החור כור באר ויבבל האמר בין האור ובין החשך: והקדש באר יום והקדש קרא לילה ויהי ערב ויהי בקר יום אחד:	καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς γενή- σθαι φῶς· καὶ ἐγέν- ετο φῶς. καὶ ἶδεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ φῶς ὅτι καλόν· καὶ δεδωκεν ὁ θεὸς ἀνά μίσην τοῦ φω- τός καὶ ἀνά μίσην τοῦ σκότους. καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ φῶς ἡμέραν, καὶ τὸ σκότος ἐκάλεσεν νύκτα, καὶ ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα καὶ ἐγένετο πρωί, ἡμέρα μία.						

Gen. 1:6	HEB.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
	וַיֵּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יְהִי רָקִיעַ בֵּינָה בְּמִיָּה יוֹדִי מִבְּרֵאשִׁית בֵּין מַיִם לְמַיִם:	καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς ἵσχυ- ρὸν στερέωμα ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ὕδατος, καὶ ἔστω διαχωρί- σμον ἀνὰ μέσον ὕδα- τος καὶ ὕδατος, καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως.	Dixit quoque Deus: Fiat firmamentum in medio aquarum, et dividat aquas ab aquis.	Seide forsothe God, He maad a firma- ment in the myddel of watres, and dyuyde it watres fro watrys.	And God seide, The firmament be maad in the myddel of watris, and deparie watris fro watris.	Und Gott sprach: Es werde ein Feste sein und die sey ein unterschied zwischen den was- sern.	And God sayd: let there be a firmament be- tween the waters, and let it divide the waters a sonder.	Firmament from V H P, Follows L against Heb. LXX V H P. Idomatic instead of literal rendering, independent.
7	וַיַּעַשׂ אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הָרָקִיעַ וַיְבַרֵךְ בֵּין־הַמַּיִם אֶשֶׁר מִתַּחַת לְרַקִּיעַ וְהַיָּם הַמַּיִם אֲשֶׁר מִלְּעַל לְרַקִּיעַ וַיְהִי כֵן:	καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ στερέωμα, καὶ διέχωρῆσεν ὁ θεὸς ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ὕδα- τος ὃ ἦν ὑποκάτω τοῦ στερώματος, καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ὑδατος τοῦ ἐπάνω τοῦ στερώματος, καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως.	Et fecit Deus firma- mentum, divisitque aquas quae erant sub firmamento, ab his, quae erant super firmamen- tum. Et factum est ita.	And God made the firmament, and dyuydid watris that weren vndre the firmament fro thes that weren about the firma- ment; and it is maad so.	And God made the firmament, and de- partide the watris that weren vndur the firmament fro these watris that weren on the fir- mament; and it was don so.	Da machet Gott die Feste und schei- det das wasser un- ter der Feste von dem wasser uber der Feste. Und es geschah also.	And God said, And it was so.	
8	וַיִּקְרָא אֱלֹהִים לְרַקִּיעַ שָׁמַיִם וַיְהִי עֶרֶב וַיְהִי- בֹקֶר יוֹם שֵׁנִי:	καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ στερέωμα οὐρα- νόν, καὶ ὕδωρ ὁ θεὸς ὅτι καλὸν, καὶ ἐγέν- ετο ἑσπέρα καὶ ἑγέ- νητο πρωΐ, ἡμέ- ρα δευτέρα.	Vocauitque Deus fir- mamentum, Cae- lum; et factum est vespere et mane, dies secundus.	And God clepide the firmament, heuene. And maad is euen and moru, the seconde day.	And God clepide the firmament, heuene. And the euenid and morwid was maad, the seconde day.	Und Gott nennet die Festen Himmel. Da ward ausz abend und morgen der ander Tag.	And God called the firmament heuen, And so of the euen- yng and morning was made the seconde daye.	cf. vs. 5.
9	וַיֵּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים הָיָה חֹשֶׁךְ מִתַּחַת הַשָּׁמַיִם אֶל־מִקְוֵה אוֹר הָרָאָה הַיּוֹשֶׁבֶת וַיְהִי כֵן:	καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς Συ- νέσθῃτω τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ ὑποκάτω τοῦ οὐρα- νοῦ εἰς συνωχίαν μίας, καὶ ὁφθῇ τὸ ἥ- γηρά, καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως, καὶ συνήχθη τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ὑποκάτω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν, καὶ ὥσθῃ ἡ ἡμέρα.	Dixit vero Deus: Con- gregentur aquae, quae sub caelo sunt, in locum unum, et appareat arida.	God forsothe seide, Gadrdit be watris, the whiche ben vndre heuene, in to o place, and apere the drie; and maad it is so.	Forsathe God seide, The watris, that ben vndur heuene, be gaderid in to o place, and a drie place appere; and it was don so.	Und Gott sprach: Es samle sich das was- ser vnder heu- mel an sondere örter daz man das trocken sehe. Und es geschach also.	And God said, let the waters that are vnder hea- ven gether them selues vnto one place, so that the drie londe may appere: And it came so to passe.	1) Follows Heb. LXX V H P against L's loose rendering. 2) Follows L as often in correct render- ing of 7 against LXX V H P.

HEB.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
Gen. 1:10	καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὰν ὑπερὺν γῆν. καὶ τὰ συντάματα τῶν ὑδάτων ἐκάλεσεν θαλάσσιος· καὶ ἰδὼν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι καλόν.	Et vocavit Deus ardam, Terram, congregationesque aquarum appellavit Maria. Et vidit Deus quod esset bonum.	And God clepid the drie, erthe; and the gaderyngis of watris he clepide. sees. And God saig that it was good;	And God clepide the drie place, erthe; and he clepide the gadryngis togidere of watris the sees. And God seig that it was good; and it was good; and the erthe brynged forth greene eerbe and makynge seed, and appyl tre makynge fruyt bi his kynde, whos seed be in it sill on erthe; and it was doom so.	Und Gott nennet das trocken Erdel und die samlung der Wasser nennet Meer. Und Gott sahe dasz es gut war. Und Gott sprach: Es lasse die Erde aufgehen Gras und Kraut dasz sich besame und fruchtbare Bäume da ein jeglicher nach seiner art frucht trage und habe seinen eygenen Samen bey im selbs auff Erden. Und es geschach also.	And god called the drye lande the erth and the gaderinge together of waters called he the see. And God sawe that it was good. And God sayd: let the erth bringe forth herbe and grasse that sowe seed, and frutefull trees that bere fruite every one in his kynde, havynge their seed in them selves vpon the erth. And it came so to passe:	Inaccurate introduction of def. art. against Heb. LXX (V) H P.
יהוה אלהים יברך אתכם ביום הזה	καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς Βλασησθήτω ἡ γῆ βοσκήν ἡ χορτοὺν, σπείρον σπέρμα κατὰ γένος καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν, καὶ ἐξουλον καρπὸν ποιούν καρπὸν, ὃ τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ κατὰ γένος εἰς ὁμοίωσιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως.	Et ait: Germinet terra herbam virentem, et facientem semen, et lignum pomiferum faciens fructum iuxta genus suum, cupus semen in semetipso sit super terram et factum est ita.	And saith, Burion the erthe grene erbe and makynge seed, and appletre makynge fruyt after his kynd, whos seed ben in hym self, vpon the erthe; and maad it is so. And the erthe brougte forth grene erbe and makynge seed after his kynde, and tree makynge fruyt, and echon hauynge seed after his special kynde. And God saig that it were good.	And the erthe brougte forth greene erbe and makynge seed bi his kynde, and a tre makynge fruyt, and ech hauynge seed bi his kynde. And God seig that it was good.	Und die Erde liesz aufgehen Gras und Kraut das sich besamet ein jeglichs nach seiner art und Bäume die da frucht tragen und iren eygen Samen bey sich selbs hatten ein jeglicher nach seiner art. Und Gott sahe dasz es gut war.		
וַיִּבְרַךְ יְהוָה אֶת הָאָרֶץ בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא	καὶ ἐξήμεγεν ἡ γῆ βοσκήν ἡ χορτοὺν, σπείρον σπέρμα κατὰ γένος καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν, καὶ ἐξουλον καρπὸν ποιούν καρπὸν, ὃ τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ κατὰ γένος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἰδὼν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι καλόν.	Et protulit terra herbam virentem, et facientem semen iuxta genus suum, lignumque faciens fructum, et habens in semetipso quod semen secundum speciem suam. Et vidit Deus quod esset bonum.					
וַיִּבְרַךְ יְהוָה אֶת הָאָרֶץ בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא	καὶ ἐξήμεγεν ἡ γῆ βοσκήν ἡ χορτοὺν, σπείρον σπέρμα κατὰ γένος καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν, καὶ ἐξουλον καρπὸν ποιούν καρπὸν, ὃ τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ κατὰ γένος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἰδὼν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι καλόν.						

Heb.	LXX	Vl	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
Gen. 1:17	καὶ ἔθετο αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῷ στερωματί τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ὥστε φαίνεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἄρχαν τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τῆς νυκτός, καὶ διακρίζαντες αὐτὰ μέσον τοῦ φωτός καὶ αὐτὰ μέσον τοῦ σκότους· καὶ ἔθεν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι καλάν, καὶ ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα καὶ ἐγένετο πρωί, ἡμέρα τετάρτη.	Et posuit eas in firmamento caeli, et lucrent super terram, et praesent diu ac nocti, et dividerent lucem ac tenebras. Et vidit Deus quod esset bonum.	And he putte hem in the firmament of heuene, that thei shuld en gye light vpon the erthe, and that thei were before to the day and to the nyght, and shulde deuyde light and derknessis. And God saig that it wer good.	And settide tho in the firmament of heuene, that tho schulden schynen on erthe, and that tho schulden be before to the dai and nygt, and schulden de-part light and derknessis. And God saig that it was good.	Und Gott setzt sie an die Feste des Himmels dasz sie schienen auff die Erde und den Tag und die Nacht regierten und scheideten Licht und Finsternisz. Und Gott sahe dasz es gut war.	And God put them in the firmament of heaven to shyne vpon the erth, and to rule the daye & the nyghte, and to deuyde the lyghte from darknesse. And God saue yt it was good.	
18							
19		Et factum est vespere et mane, dies quartus.	And maad is euen and moru, the fether day.	And the euen and the morweid was maad, the fourthe dai.	Da ward aus abend und morgen der vierdte Tag.	And so of the euenyng and mornynge was made the fourth daye.	Cl. vs. 5.
20	καὶ εἰπεν ὁ θεὸς ἔβγε γένετω τὰ ὕδατα ἐμπνέτω ψυχὰν ζωῶν καὶ πετεινῶν καὶ περὶ τὰ ὕδατα ἐβγε ἡ γῆς κατὰ τὸ στέρεός αὐτῃ· καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως.	Dixit etiam Deus: Producant aquae reptile animae viventes, et volatiles super terram super firmamento caeli.	God also seide, Watres bryng thei forth the crepyng kynd of the lyngye soule, and yngye soule, and the fleecyng kynde vpon the erth, vndre the firmament of heuene.	Also God seide, The watris bryng forth a crepyng heeste of lyuyngye soule, and a bryd flecyng aboue erthe vndur the firmament of heuene.	Und Gott sprach: Es erzeuge sich das Wasser mit webenden und lebendigen Thieren und mit Gevögeln dass auff Erden unter der Feste desz Himmels fliege.	And God created grete whalles and all maner of creatures that move & have lyfe, & foules for to flic & foules for to flic over the erth vnder the firmament of heaven.	Follows L against Heb. LXX VII P.
21	καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὰ κτήνη τὰ μεγάλα καὶ πάντα ψυχὰν ζώων ἐρποντων, ἃ ἐβγαγεν τὰ ὕδατα κατὰ γένος αὐτῶν, καὶ πάν πετεινῶν καὶ πάν περὶ τὸ στέρεός αὐτῃ· καὶ ἔδω ὁ θεὸς ὅτι καλά.	Creavitque Deus cete grandia, et omnem animam viventem atque motabilem, quam produxerant aquae in species suas, et omne volatile secundum genus suum. Et vidit Deus quod esset bonum.	And God made of nougt grete whallis and al soule lyuyng and in ouable, whom watres brought forth into their special kyndes, and al flyoyng thing after his kynd. And God saig that it wer good.	And God made of nougt grete whallis, and ech lyuyng, soule and mouable, whiche the watris han brought forth in to her kyndis; and God made of nougt ech volatile bi his kynde. And God saig that it was good;	Und Gott schuff grosse Wallische und allerley Thier das da lebt und webt und vom Wasser erregt ward ein jegliches nach seiner art und allerley gefiederts Gevögelt ein jegliches nach seiner art. Und Gott sahe dasz es gut war.	And God created grete whalles and all maner of creatures that lyve and moue, which the waters brought forth in their kindes, and all maner of foleied foules in their kyndes. And God saue that it was good:	Follows LXX and L against Heb. V II P.

Gen. 1:22	HEB.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
	וַיִּבְרָךְ אֱלֹהִים אֶת הַיָּם וְאֶת כָּל הַחַיָּה אֲשֶׁר בָּהֶם וְאֶת כָּל הָעוֹף הַבָּשָׂר וְאֶת כָּל הַרֹמֵשׁ אֲשֶׁר יֵרֹמֵשׁ עַל הָאָרֶץ וְאֶת כָּל הָאֲרֻמִּים אֲשֶׁר יָרִים עַל הָאָרֶץ וְאֶת כָּל הַחַיָּה אֲשֶׁר בָּהֶם וְאֶת כָּל הָעוֹף הַבָּשָׂר וְאֶת כָּל הַרֹמֵשׁ אֲשֶׁר יֵרֹמֵשׁ עַל הָאָרֶץ וְאֶת כָּל הָאֲרֻמִּים אֲשֶׁר יָרִים עַל הָאָרֶץ	καὶ ἐβλόρησεν αὐτὰ ὁ θεὸς λέγων Ἀναθήτω καὶ πληθύνωσθε καὶ πληρώσατε τὰ ὕδατα ἐν ταῖς θαλάσσαις, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰ πτερὰ πληθυνθήσονται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.	Benedixitque eis, dicens: Crescite, et multiplicamini, et replete aquas maris, avesque multiplicentur super terram.	and blisside to hem, sayinge, Growth, and be th ge multiplid, and fulfith the watres of the see, and the briddis be multiplid vpon the erthe	and blesside hem, and seide, Waxe ge, and be ge multiplid and fille ge the watris of the see, and briddis be multiplied on erthe.	Und Gott segnet sie und sprach: Seyt fruchtbar und mehret euch und erfüllet das wasser im Meer und das Gevögel mehre sich auff Erden.	And God blessed them sayinge. Growe and multiplie and fylle the waters on the sees, & let the foules multiplye vpon the erth.	Follows literal Heb. (LXX V H) against P L.
23	וַיִּבְרָךְ אֱלֹהִים אֶת הַיָּם וְאֶת כָּל הַחַיָּה אֲשֶׁר בָּהֶם וְאֶת כָּל הָעוֹף הַבָּשָׂר וְאֶת כָּל הַרֹמֵשׁ אֲשֶׁר יֵרֹמֵשׁ עַל הָאָרֶץ וְאֶת כָּל הָאֲרֻמִּים אֲשֶׁר יָרִים עַל הָאָרֶץ	καὶ ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα καὶ ἐγένετο πρωί, ἡμέρα πρώτη, ἡμέρα πέμπτη.	Et factum est vespere et mane, dies quintus.	And maad is euen and moru, the fyueyth day.	And the eventid and the morwetid was maad, the fyueyth dai.	Da ward ausz abend und morgen der funfte Tag.	And so of the evenyng & morninge was made the fyfth daye.	Cf. vs. 5.
24	וַיִּבְרָךְ אֱלֹהִים אֶת הַיָּם וְאֶת כָּל הַחַיָּה אֲשֶׁר בָּהֶם וְאֶת כָּל הָעוֹף הַבָּשָׂר וְאֶת כָּל הַרֹמֵשׁ אֲשֶׁר יֵרֹמֵשׁ עַל הָאָרֶץ וְאֶת כָּל הָאֲרֻמִּים אֲשֶׁר יָרִים עַל הָאָרֶץ	καὶ εὐλόγησεν ὁ θεὸς τὰ ὕδατα καὶ τὰ θῆρα τῆς γῆς καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰ πτερὰ ἑγένετο οὗτως.	Dixit quoque Deus: Producat terra animam viventem in genere suo, iumenta, et reptilia, et bestias terrae secundum species suas. Factumque est ita.	God forsothe seide, Bryng forth the erthe soule lyuyng in his kynde, iumentis, and creeping things, and bestis of the erthe after their special kyndis, and so it is maad.	And God seide, The erthe bryng forth a lyuyng soul in his kynde, work beestis and creeping beestis, and vresonable beestis of erthe, bi her kyndis, and it was don so.	Und Gott sprach: Die Erde bring herfür lebendige Thierlein jeglichs nach seiner art und Vich Gewürm und Thier auff Erden ein jeglichs nach seiner art, nach seiner art, Und es geschach also.	And God sayd: let the erth bring forth lyuyng creatures in their kyndes; cattell & wormes & beastes of the erth in their kyndes, & so it came to passe.	Follows L in special meaning of פשוט for context. Follows L in choice of word.
25	וַיִּבְרָךְ אֱלֹהִים אֶת הַיָּם וְאֶת כָּל הַחַיָּה אֲשֶׁר בָּהֶם וְאֶת כָּל הָעוֹף הַבָּשָׂר וְאֶת כָּל הַרֹמֵשׁ אֲשֶׁר יֵרֹמֵשׁ עַל הָאָרֶץ וְאֶת כָּל הָאֲרֻמִּים אֲשֶׁר יָרִים עַל הָאָרֶץ	καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὰ θῆρα τῆς γῆς κατὰ γένος καὶ τὰ κτήνη κατὰ γένος καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐρπετὰ κατὰ γένος κατὰ γένος αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸ ἐν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι καλὰ.	Et fecit Deus bestias terrae iuxta species suas, et iumenta, et omne reptile terrae in genere suo. Et vidit Deus quod esset bonum.	And God made beestis of the erthe after thir special kyndis, iumentis, and creeping things, and beestis of the erthe, after their special kyndis; and so it is maad.* And God saig that it wer good;	And God made vresonable beestis of erthe bi her kyndis, and werk beestis and creeping beestis, and unresonable beestis of erthe, bi her kyndis, bi her kyndis, and it was done so.* And God seig that it was good;	Also machet Gott die Thier auff Erden ein jeglichs nach seiner art und das Vich nach seiner art able beestis of erthe, bi her kyndis, bi her kyndis, and it was done so.* And Und Gott sahe daz es gut war.	And god made the beastes of the erth in their kyndes, & cattell in their kyndes, ad all maner wormes of the erth in their kyndes; and God save that it was good.	

* This sentence repeated with slight variations in H and P.

Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
Gen. 1: 26	καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς Ἑσθὶν ὡς ἐν ἀνθρώποις καὶ εἰκόνα ἡμετέ- ραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίω- σιν καὶ ἀρχήσαντων τῶν ἰχθύων τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τῶν πετεινῶν τοῦ οὐρα- νοῦ καὶ τῶν κτηνῶν καὶ πάσης τῆς γῆς καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐρ- ποντων τῶν ἐρπον- των ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.	Et ait: Faciamus Hominem ad imaginem, et similitudinem nos- tram, et præsit piscibus maris, et volatilibus caeli, et bestiis, universae- que terræ, omni- que reptili, quod mouetur in terra.	and seith, Make me man to the ymage and oure lykenesse, and bi- fore be he to the fishis of the see, and to the volatils of heuene, and to the beestis of the erth, and to al creature, and to al the crepyng thing that moweth on the erthe.	and seide, Make me man to oure ymage and lik- nesse, and be he souereyn to the fishes of the see, and to the volatils of heuene, and to vntresomable bees- tis of erthe, and to ech creature, and to ech crepyng beest, which is moued in erthe.	Und Gott sprach: Lasset uns Men- schen machen im Bild das uns gleich sey die da herr- schen uer die Fis- che im Meer und uber die Vögel un- ter dem Himmel und u ber das Vieh und uber die gantzen Erde und uber alles Ge- würm das auf Erden krecht.	And God sayd: let vs make man in ouresymilitude and after oure lyck- nesse: that he may haue rule over the fysch of the see, and over the foules of the ayre, and over all catell, and over all the erth, and over all wormes that crepe on the erth.	Follows Heb. V P against L's loose rendering. Symilitude from V, lycknesse from H P, T avoids im- age.
27	καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ ἐποίη- σεν αὐτόν, ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτούς.	Et creauit Deus ho- minem ad imagi- nem suam: ad ad imaginem Dei creauit illum, mas- culum et feminam creauit eos.	And God made of nought man to the ymage and his lykenesse; to the ymage of God he made hym; maale and femaale he made hem of nought.	And God made of nought a man, to his ymage and lik- nesse; God made of nought a man, to the ymage of God; God made of nought hem, male and female.	Und Gott schuff den Menschen Im zum Bilde zum Bilde Gottes schuff er ihn, und er schuff sie ein Männlin und Fräwlin	And God created man after hys lycknesse, after the lycknesse of God created he him: male & fe- male created he them.	
28	καὶ ἐνέλογεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς λέγων Ἄνθρω- ποι εἰσθε καὶ πληρο- ύσατε τὴν γῆν καὶ κατακυριεύσατε αὐ- τήν, καὶ ἀρχετε τῶν ἰχθύων τῆς θαλάσ- σης καὶ τῶν πετει- νῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ	Benedixitque illis Deus, et ait: Cres- cite et replete ter- ram, et subijcite eam, et domina- mini piscibus ma- ris, et volatilibus caeli, et universis animalibus, quæ	And God blisid to hem, and seith, Growth ye, and be ge multiplied, and fulfille ge the erthe, and sagette ge it, and haue ge lord- ship to the fishis of the see, and to the volatils of heu-	And God bliside hem, and seide, Encrease ge, and be ge multiplied, and fille ge the erthe, and make ge it suget, and be ge lordis to fishis of the see, and to volatils of heuene.	Und Gott segnet sie und sprach zu ihnen: Seyt frucht- bar und mehret euch und füllet die Erden und macht sie euch herrschen. Und Fischim Meer und	And God blessed them, and God sayd vnto them. Growth and multi- plye and fill the erth and subdue it and haue domyn- yon over the fysh of the see, and over the foules of the	Follows LXX V H P against L's more correct rendering.

Gen. 2: 1	Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
	וכל צמאם השדה כרם היה בארץ הכל עשב השדה כרם יצמח	ὁ κόσμος αὐτῶν καὶ πᾶν χλωρὸν ἀ- γροῦ πρὸ τοῦ γενέ- σθαι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ πάντα ἄρσενά καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἀντίσθαι	et omnis ornatus eorum in die et omne virgultum agri antequam ori- retur in terra. om- nemque herbam regionis priusquam germinaret	and al the anown- ing of hem. in the day 'and ech bushe of the feeld or it were growun in the erthe, and al erbe of region before that it buriownde	and al the ourn- ment of tho. in the day and ech lilil tre of erthe before that it sprong out in erthe; and he made ech erbe of the feeld before that it buriownde	mit iren gantzen Heer. zu der zeit und allerley Bäume auff dem Felde die zuvor nie gewest waren auff Erden Und allerley Kraut auff dem Felde das zuvor nie ge- wachsen war. gegen dem Morgen	with all their ap- parell: in the tyme and all the shrubbes of the felde be fore they were in the erthe. And all the herbes of the feeld before they sprange.	Rejects L's correct rendering for one of his own not so good. Follows L against Heb. LXX V H P. All the versions mis- interpret T follows LXX V, however, not L.
9	מקדם	κατὰ ἀνατολὰς	a principio	fro bigynnyng	at the bigynnyng	gegen dem Morgen	[a garden in Eden] from the begyn- nyng	Follows LXX V H P against L's correct rendering.
13	וכל ארץ כוש	— Αἰθιοπίας	Ethiopiae	at the erthe of Ethiope	at the loond of Ethiope	das gantze Moren- land	An independent con- jecture.	An independent con- jecture.
18	עזר כננדר	βοηθὸν κατ' αὐτὸν	adjutorium simile sibi	help like hym.	an help lijk to hym self	ein Gehülffen die umb In sey	Follows L in render- ing	Follows L in render- ing
3: 4	לא מרת המזרחי	οὐ θανάτω ἀποθανέ- νισθε	nequaquam morte mortemini	Thurg deth ge shal not die	Ge schulen not die bi deeth	Ir werdet mit nichte desz tods sterben.	tush ye shall not dye	A vigorous independ- ent rendering of the Heb. idiom.
16	הרבה ארבה עצבני והרבה	τὰς αὐτάς σον καὶ τὸν στεναγμόν	acrumas tuas et conceptus tuas	thi myseses and thi conceuyngis	thi wretchidness and thi conseyu- yngis	Ich wil dir vil schmerzen schaf- fen wenn du schwanger wirst Du solt mit schmerzen Kinder gebenen.	I will suerly encrease thy sorrow and make the oft with child	Abandons L's loose paraphrase for an independent ren- dering, showing in the phrase used for הרבה a desire to follow English usage.

Gen. 3: 10	Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
4: 7	עפר הולא אדם יתביש שאת ראש לל הנחית לפתח הגנה רכז האכל השוקקו ראיה המשל-בר	γῆ οὐκ εἶπεν Κάιν πρὸς "Ἄβελ τὸν ἀδελφόν αὐτοῦ Διέλωμεν εἰς τὸ πεδion, στένων καὶ τρέμων	pulvis Nonne si bene ege- ris, recipies; sin autem male, sta- tum in foribus pec- catorum aderit; sed sub te erit appeti- tus ejus, et tu do- minaberis illius.	powdre Shalt thou not re- seyne wel, if thou wel dost; ellis for- sothe euel, anon in the gatis thi synnes shal ben at thee? but vndre thee shal be the appetite of hym, and thou shalt haue lordship of hym.	dust Whether not if thou schalt do wel, thou schalt resseyne; but if thou doist yuele, thi synne shal be present anoon in the gatis? but the desir therof shal be vndre thee, and thou schalt be lord ther- of.	Erden Ists nicht also? wenn du fromb bist, so bistu angeme bistu aber nicht von so ruhet die Sünde für der thät. Aber lasz du dir nie en wil- len sondern herrsche uber sie.	erth thou art Wotest thou not if thou dost well thou shalt receive it? But and yf thou doest euel, by & by thy synne lyeth open in the dore. Notwithstanding let it be subdued unto the, and see thou rule it.	Follows LXX and L against Heb. V H P Follows V H P against L Follows H and P against Heb. V L. One of the few cases where influence of H P apart from V can be shown.
8	והאמר קין אל חבל אחיו נע רכז	καὶ εἶπεν Κάιν πρὸς "Ἄβελ τὸν ἀδελφόν αὐτοῦ Διέλωμεν εἰς τὸ πεδion, στένων καὶ τρέμων	Dixitque Cain ad Abel fratrem suum Egrediamur foras. vagus et profugus	And Caym seide to Abel his brother, Go we out. vagaunt and fer fugitif	And Caym seide to Abel his brother, Go we out. vnstable of dwell- yng and fleyng aboute	Da redet Cain mit seinem Bruder Habel. unstet und flüch- tig.	And Cain talked with Abel his brother a vagabond & a rennagate. I have slayne a man and wounded my selfe, & have slayne a yongman & gotte myselfe strypes. generation of man desz menschen Geschlecht	Follows L in omitting the phrase given by LXX V (H P). Vagabond suggested by V. Rennagate independent. Independent and im- possible. Follows LXX and L against V H P. Adopts L's para- phrase instead of Heb. V H P.
12	נע רכז	στένων καὶ τρέμων	vagus et profugus	vagaunt and fer fugitif	vnstable of dwell- yng and fleyng aboute	unstet und flüch- tig.	a vagabond & a rennagate. I have slayne a man and wounded my selfe, & have slayne a yongman & gotte myselfe strypes. generation of man desz menschen Geschlecht	Vagabond suggested by V. Rennagate independent. Independent and im- possible. Follows LXX and L against V H P. Adopts L's para- phrase instead of Heb. V H P.
23	איש הכנעני לפני וילך לחברתו	ὁτι ἀνδρα ἀπέκτεινα εἰς τράυμα ἔμοι, καὶ νεανίσκον εἰς μάλωπα ἔμοι.	occidi virum in vulnus meum, et adulescentulum in livorem meum. generationis Adam	I slowe a man into my wound, and a litle waxen man into my wannesse; generacioun of Adam.	Y haue slayn a man bi my wounds, and a gong weyng man bi my violent betyng; generacioun of Adam	Ich hab einen Mann erschlagen mir zur wundung und ein- en Jüngling mir zur beulen. desz menschen Geschlecht	I have slayne a man and wounded my selfe, & have slayne a yongman & gotte myselfe strypes. generation of man desz menschen Geschlecht	Independent and im- possible. Follows LXX and L against V H P. Adopts L's para- phrase instead of Heb. V H P.
5: 1	הולדת אדם	γενέσεως ἀνθρώπων	generationis Adam	generacioun of Adam.	generacioun of Adam	desz menschen Geschlecht	generation of man desz menschen Geschlecht	Follows LXX and L against V H P. Adopts L's para- phrase instead of Heb. V H P.
24	יהודה הנדב אחיהם האנכי כר לקח אתו	Ἐνώχ τῷ θεῷ καὶ οὐκ ἠγάπησεν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· μετα- τέθηκεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεός	Ambulauitque cum Deo, et non ap- paruit; quia tulit cum Deus.	And he gede with God, and he aperyde not; for God toke hym.	And Enoth geed with God, and apperde not afterward, for God took hym awe.	Und dieweil er ein Göttlich Leben führte nam in Gott hinweg und ward nicht mehr gesehen.	Henoch lyved a goodly life, and was no more sene, for God toke him away	Follows LXX and L against V H P. Adopts L's para- phrase instead of Heb. V H P.

Gen. 6: 1	Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
	וְהָיוּ הַבָּנִים הַלְלוֹת	καὶ θυγατέρες ἐγενήθησαν αὐτοῖς	et filias procreasent	and hadden brought forth dowgris	and hadden gen-drid dougris	und zeugeten juen Töchter	had begot them daughters	Follows V H P L against pointing of Heb. & LXX.
4	הַנַּפְלִים הָיוּ הַנֶּאֱחָזְרִים בְּיָמֵינוּ	οἱ δὲ γίγαντες ἦσαν ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις	Gigantes autem erant super terram in diebus illis	Giaunies forsothe weren vpon the erthe in tho dates,	Sotheli giauntis weren on erthe in tho dates.	Es waren auch zu den zeiten Tyrannen auff Erden.	There were tirantes in the world in those days	Follows L without any conceivable reason.
18	בְּרִיתִי	διαθήκη	foedus	couchaunt	couchaunt	Bund	myne apoyntement	In his first edition T used various renderings for בְּרִית according to context, but the revision of 1534 substitutes covenant in all cases (following L).
0: 9	בְּרִיתִי	διαθήκη	pactum	"	"	Bund	my bond	Follows L against LXX V H P
13	בְּרִיתִי	διαθήκη	foederis	"	"	Bund	my apoyntment	Follows V H P in an impossible rendering of בְּרִית against L's correct reading.
15	בְּרִיתִי	διαθήκη	foederis	"	"	Bund	my testament	Follows V H P in an impossible rendering of בְּרִית against L's correct reading.
17	בְּרִיתִי	διαθήκη	foederis	bonde	"	Bund	my testament	Follows V H P in an impossible rendering of בְּרִית against L's correct reading.
12: 2	וְהָיוּ הַבָּנִים הַלְלוֹת	καὶ ἔσθ' ἐγένετο υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ	erisque benedictus	thou shalt be blis-sid	thou shalt be blis-sid	und solt ein Segen seyn	that thou mayst be a blessing	Follows L against LXX V H P
14: 1	וְהָיוּ הַבָּנִים הַלְלוֹת	ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Ἀμράφελ	factum est autem in illo tempore ut Amraphel	it was don in that tyme, that Amraphel	it was don in that tyme, that Amrafel	es begab sich zu der Zeit des Königs Amraphel	it chaunsed within a while that Amraphel	Follows V H P in an impossible rendering of בְּרִית against L's correct reading.
15: 2	וְהָיוּ הַבָּנִים הַלְלוֹת	ἐγένετο δὲ ἀπολύματα ἀρετῆς· ὁ δὲ υἱὸς Μάρσακ τῆς οἰκουργοῦς μου, ὁ ὄνομα Δαμασκός· Ἐλίζερ	Ego vadam absque liberis, et filius procuratoris domus meae, iste Damascus Eliezer	I shall go withouten fre children, and the sone of the proctour of myn hows, this Damask of Elyzar, shal be myn eyre.	Y schal go with oute fre children, and this Damask, sone of Elieser, the procuratour of myn hous, schal be myn eyr.	Ich gehe dahin on kinder und mein Hausvogt dieser Elieser von Damasco hat einen Son.	I goo childlesse, and the cater of myne house, this Elieser of Damasco hath a sone.	All the versions misunderstand משק, T follows L instead of V or H P.
6	וְהָיוּ הַבָּנִים הַלְלוֹת	καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῶν εἰς δικαιοσύνην	Et reputatum est illi ad iustitiam	and it was alowid to hym to rygwtisnes.	and it was aretid to hym to rigtfulness.	und das rechnet er jm zur gerechtigkeit	and it was counted to hym for rightnesses	Does not follow L's correct rendering.
17: 1	וְהָיוּ הַבָּנִים הַלְלוֹת	ἐπαράσθη ἐναντίον ἐμοῦ, καὶ γίνου ἀμεμπτos	ambula coram me, et esto perfectus	goo bifore me, and be thow perfite	go thou bifore me, and be thou perfitt	wandle für mir und sey fromb	Walke before me and be uncorrupte	A good independent rendering of המצא

Gen. 18: 10	Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
	כֶּתֶה הִיָּה	κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ εἶναι	tempore isto, vita comite	this tyme, the lif ledere	in this tyme, if y lyue	so ich lebe	as soone as the frute can lyue	All stumbe on this obscure phrase. T ventures his own conjecture different from all others.
22: 14	בְּרֵךְ יְהוָה הָרֵאָה	ἐν τῷ ὅρει Κύριος ὠφθῆναι	In monte Dominus videbit	In the hil the Lord shal se	The Lord shal see in the hil.	Auff dem Berge da der Herr siet.	In the mounte will the Lord be sene	T does not follow pointing of בְּרֵךְ as consl., but does follow passive pointing of verb against other versions.
23: 2	קִרְיַת אֲרָבֶּה	πόλις Ἀρβὰκ	in civitate Arbee	in the citee of Arbee	in the citee of Arbee	in der Hauptstadt	in a heade cyte	Follows L against others.
15	אֶרֶץ אֲרָבֶּה מִצְרַיִם שְׂקֵל-כֶּסֶף בִּנְיָ הַבֵּינָךְ מִדֶּה־הָרֵאָה	τετρακτακσίων δροαχίων ἀργύριον· ἀνά μίσην ἡμοῦ καὶ σοῦ· τί ἂν εἴη τοῦτο	Terra, quam postulas, quadringentis sicles argenti valet; istud est pretium inter me et te, sed quantum est hoc	the erthe that thou askist is worth foure hundred sicles of siluer, this is the prys bitwix me, and thee, but what is that?	the lond which thou axist is worth foure hundred sicles of siluer, that is the prys bitwix me and thee, but how myche is this?	Das Feld ist vierhundert Sckel Silbers wehrt. Was ist das aber zwischen mir und dir.	The lande is worth in hundred sicles of sylver: But what is that betwix the and me?	T follows L in a substantially correct but not literal rendering.
27: 41	יִקְרֶה יִמִּי אָבֶל אֲבִי הָאֵלֶּה־הֵם אֵת הַקֶּבֶם אֵלַי;	ἐγγενήσασσαν αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ πατρὸς μου, ἵνα ἀποκτείνω· ἰακώβ τὸν ἀδελφὸν μου	venit dies luctus paris mei, et occidam Jacobum fratrem meum	the days of weyling of my fader shal come, and I shal slee Jacob my brother	the daies of mooring of my fadir schulden come, and y schal sle Jacob, my brothir	Es wirdt die zeit bald kommen dasz mein Vatter leyde tragen musz Denn ich wil meinen Bruder Jacob erwürgen.	The dayes of my faders sorowe are at hande, for I will slee my brother Jacob	Follows L against LXX V H P.
40: 3	הֲאֵבֶן כְּבֹד אֵת כְּרִי הָאֵשֶׁת אֵלַי וְהָרֵאָה	ἵνα ὁμοιωθῶμαι τῷ κλέος μου, ὅς ἐστις μου καὶ ἀρχὴ τέκνων μου· ἀκαρπὸς φύμωσθαι καὶ σκληρὸς αὐθάδης.	Ruben primogenitus meus, tu fortitudo mea, et principium doloris mei; prior in domis, major in imperio.	Ruben, my first getun, thou my strengthe, and the bigynning of my sorowe; first in gifts, and more in commanding;	Ruben, my first genid some, thou art my strengthe and the bigynnyng of my sorowe; thou oughtst to be the former in gifts, the more in lordship;	Ruben mein erster Son Du bist meine Kraft und meine erste macht der überst in Opfer und der überst in Reich.	Ruben, thou art myne eldest sonne, my myghte and the begynnyng of my strength, chiefe in receauynge and chiefe in power.	Follows L in correct rendering of אֵלַי.
	וְהָרֵאָה עֵד:							In rendering שָׂאת T is independent and wrong.

Gen. 49: 4	Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
	פחה כמים אל-תרור בר עלית משיב אבר אז הלכל דעירי עלת; בסם אל- הבא בפשי בקהם אל- החד כביר בר באפם הרנו ארע הברנם עקד-שור; נור אירה יהודה מבר בני עלת בר רב ממ הכלבא מי יקרמי;	ἐξέβυσας ὡς ὕδατος μὴ ἐξέλθῃς ἀνέβης γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν κοίτην τοῦ πατρὸς σου τὸτε ἵκανας τὴν στρωματίαν οὐ ἀνέ- βης. εἰς βουλὰν αὐτῶν μὴ ἐλθοι, ἢ ψυχὴ μου, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν σπλάγχνα αὐτῶν μὴ ἔρσῃς τὰ ὕπερα μου, ὅτι ἐν τῷ θυμῷ αὐτῶν ἀπεκρίναν ἀνθρώ- πους, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐπι- θυμίᾳ αὐτῶν ἐνευ- ποκρίσαν ταῦτους. ἀκούσας λέουσος. ἴδου ἐκ βλαστῶν, ὡς μου, ἀνέβης ἀποποσῶν ἐκ κοίτης ὡς λέων καὶ ὡς σκῆνος, τὸς ἐγχεῖται αὐτόν;	Effusus es sicut aqua, non crescas, quia ascendisti cubile patris tui, et macu- lasti stratum eius. In consilium eorum non veniat anima mea, et in coetu filiorum non sit gloria mea quia in furore suo occi- derunt virum, et in voluntate sua suf- foderunt murum. Cattulus leonis Judae; ad praedam, illi mihi, ascendisti, re- quiescens accula- rist ut leo, et quasi leona, quis susci- tabit cum?	thou art held out as water; ne grow thow, for thou hast steied up the cowche of thi fader, and thou hast defoulid the bedde of hym.	thou art scheld out as watir; wexe thou not, for thou stedist on the bed of thi fader, and defoulidist his bed.	Er fuhr leicht fertig dahin wie Wasser du soll nicht der Oberst seyn Denn du bist auf deines Vatters Lä- ger gestiegen daselbst hastum ein Bette besudelt mit dem aufsteigen. Meine Seele komme nicht in jren Rahit und meine Ehre sey nicht in jrer Kirchen Denn in jrem zorn haben sie den Man er- würgt und in jrem mutwillen haben sie den Ochsen verder- bet.	As unstable as water wast thou: thou shalt therefore not be the chiefest, for thou wentst vp vpo thy fathers bedd, and than defyled- est thou my couche with goynge vppo. In to their secrettes come not my soule, and vnto their con- gregation bee my honour not con- pled: for in their wrath they slewe a man, and in their selcwill they houghed an oxe. Juda is a lions whelp. From splaye my some mein Son durch hyc: he layde him downe and couched himselfe as a lion, and as a lionesse. Who dare stee him vp?	means "bubbling over," "foaming." T's rendering is like L's, a para- phrase, but some- what different in effect. Follows P in render- ing קהל, avoid- ing L's awkward "Kirche," T does not use "church." Follows V against L's impossible render- ing.

Gen. 49:10	Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
	לאִדְסֹר שֶׁבֶט מִיְהוּדָה מִחֶמֶק מִבֵּין הַגִּבּוֹר עֵר וְלֹא יִקְרָה עַמּוּם	οὐκ ἐλάψεται ἀρχὼν ἐξ Ἰουδα, καὶ ἡγούμενος ἐκ τῶν μαρτῶν αὐτοῦ, ὥς ἐν ἔσθῃ τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐ- τῇ, καὶ αὐτὸς προσ- δοκία ἐθίων.	Non auferetur sceptrum de Juda, et dux de femore ejus, donec veniat qui mittendus est, et ipse erit expectatio gentium.	The sceptre fro Juda shal not be takun away, and a duke fro the feconde of hym, to the tyme that he come that is to be sent, and he shal be the abydyng of folk of kynde.	The sepre shal not be takun away fro Juda, and a dukyng of his hiye, til he come that shal be sent, and he schal be abyding of them men;	Es wirt das Scepter von Juda nicht entwendet werden noch ein Meister von seinen Füßen bis dasz der Held komme und denselben werden die Völcker anhangen.	The sepre shall not departe from Juda, nor a ruler from betwene his legges, vntill Silo come, vnto whome the people shall herken.	L avoids the difficulty by a phrase, as usual. T rejects the impossible attempt of V to derive from שֶׁבֶט, but not having anything better to offer, he transliterates.
11	אֶסְרִי לִגְפֵן עֵרֶה וְלִשְׂרָקָה בֵּין אֲזָנִי כֶּסֶם בֵּין לְכֶשֶׁר הַכֶּסֶם עַבְדִּים מִרְחָה:	δεσμεύον πρὸς ἀμπε- λον τὸν πῶλον αὐ- τοῦ, καὶ τῇ ἑλκεῖ τὸν πῶλον τῆς ὀνύ- αυτοῦ. πλανεῖ ἐν αἰνῇ τῇ σπολῇ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν ἀμα- τι σταφυλῇ τῇ περιβολῇ αὐτοῦ.	Ligans ad vineam pullum suum, et ad vicem, o fili mi, asinum suum, lavabit in vino stolam suam, et in sanguine uvae pallium suum.	Byndyng to a vynyng his colt, and to a vyn, O! my sonne, his she asse, he shal washe in wyne his stoole, and in blood of a grape his mantil;	and he schal tye his colt at the vynyng, and his femal asse at the vynyng; A! my sonne, he schal wasche his stoole in wyne, and his mantil in the blood of grape;	Er wirt sein Füllen an den Weinstock binden und seiner Eselin Son an den edlen Rehen Er wirdt sein Kleid im Wein waschen und seinen Mantel Wein-erblut.	He shall bynde his fole vnto the vine, and his asses colt vnto the vyne braunche, and shall wash his garment in wyne and his mantell in the bloud of grapes,	Follows all the versions in the not natural misinterpretation of the adjectives with γὰρ as comparatives. The Revisers have rendered לִגְפֵן differently in the two clauses, but T and the earlier versions are right.
12	חֲכֹלֵל עֵינַם מִיָּין רֶכֶן שִׁנָּם מִחֶבֶל:	χαροστοὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ ὀφθαλμοῦ, καὶ λευκοὶ οἱ ὀδόντες αὐτοῦ ὡς γάλα.	Pulchritores sunt oculi ejus vino, et dentes ejus lacte candiores.	Fayrer ben the eyen of hym than wyne, and the teeth of hym whitter than mylk.	These igen ben fairer than wyne, and hise teeth ben whittere than mylk.	Seine Augen sind rötlicher denn Wein und seine Zene weisser denn Milch.	his eyes are roudier than wyne, ad his teeth whitter then mylke.	
13	זָבֻלֹן לְחֹרֶה רִמָּם יִשְׁכֵּן הָרִמָּה לְחֹרֶה אֲנֹת רִיחָתוֹ עַל-צִירָתוֹ:	Ζαβουλὼν παράλιος κατοικήσει, καὶ αὐτὸς παρ' ὄρουον πλοίων, καὶ παρατενέει ὡς Σιδῶνος.	Zabulon in litore maris habitabit, et in statione navium pertingens usque ad Sidonem.	Zabulon in the brynke of the see shal dwelle, and in the station of shippes, archyng vnto Sidon.	Zabulon schal dwelle in the brek of the see, and in the stondyng of shippis; and schal stretche til to Sydon.	Selulon wirdt an anfuhrt desz Meers wohnen und an anfuhr der Schiffe und retchen an Sidon.	Zabulon shall dwell in the haufen of the see and in the porte of shippes, & shall reache vnto Sidon.	

Gen. 49:14	Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
ישכר חמר גם רכב בין המשפטים:	ישכר חמר גם רכב בין המשפטים:	Ἰσχαρ τὸ καλὸν ἐπιθήμενος, ἀναπαύμενος ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν κλήρων.	Isachar, asinus fortis accubans inter terminos,	Isachar, an bee asse strong, liggynge bitwix the termes,	Isachar, a strong liggynge bitwix terms,	Isachar wirt ein bettern Esel seyn und sich ligen zwischen die Grenzen.	Isachar is a strong asse, he couched him doune betwene 11 borders,	T notices the dual, ignored by others.
15 ורר מכה כי סוב ואח- הארץ כי מעמה רם שכמו לסבל הרר למס- עבר:	ורר מכה כי סוב ואח- הארץ כי מעמה רם שכמו לסבל הרר למס- עבר:	καὶ ἰδὼν τὴν ἀνάστυσιν ὅτι καλὴ, καὶ τὴν γῆν ὅτι πλούτη, ἐπέθηκεν τὸν ὄμων αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ πορεύειν, καὶ ἐγενήθη ἀνὴρ γεωργός.	Vidit requiem quod esset bona, et terram quod optima; et supposuit humerum suum ad portandum factusque est tributis serviens.	Sawg rest that it was good, and the boond that it was best, and vnderputte his shuldr to here, and he is maad to tributis seruyng.	Seig reste, that it was good and seig the lond that it was best, and he vnder- setide his schuldr to here, and he was maad seruyng to tributis.	Und er sahe die ruwe dasz sie gut ist und das Landt dasz es lusing ist Er hat aber seine schultern genoeigt zu tragen und ist ein zanschar Knecht worden.	And sawe that rest was good and the lande that it was pleasant, and bowed his shuldr to beare, and became a servaunte unto trybute.	Follows V.
16 דן דין עמר באחה שבכר השראלי:	דן דין עמר באחה שבכר השראלי:	Δαν κρανὲς τὸν εἰσποῦ λαόν, ἀσεί καὶ μία φύλη ἐν Ἰσραὴλ.	Dan judicabit populum suum sicut et alia tribus in Israel.	Dan shal deme his people, and as an- other lynage in Yrael.	Dan schal deme his people, as also an- other lynage in Is- rael.	Dan wirt Richter seyn in seinen Volck wie ein an- der Geschlecht in Israel.	Dan shall iudge his people, as one of the tryles of Israel.	Follows Heb. LXX against V (H P) L.
19 גד בדר יגדנו הדיא יגד עקב	גד בדר יגדנו הדיא יגד עקב	Ἰδὲ, πεπαιρημένον πα- τέρους αὐτοῦ ἀδ- ρὸς δὲ πεπαιρημένοι αὐτῶν κατὰ πόδας.	Gad, accinctus praeliatur ante eum, et ipse accingetur retrorsum.	Gad gird shal feigt before hym, and he shal be gird bi- hynde.	Gad schal be gird, and schal figte bi- for hym, and he schal be gird bi- hynde.	Gad gerüst wirt das Heer führen und wider herumf- führen.	Gad, men of warre shall invade him. And he shall turne them to flight.	Follows Heb. and LXX against V (H P) L.
20 מאשר שמנה לחמור הדיא יחן מדינה- מלך:	מאשר שמנה לחמור הדיא יחן מדינה- מלך:	Ἰσχυρ, πλούσιος αὐτοῦ ὁ ἄριστος, καὶ ἀνὴρ δα- σκαί τροφὴν ἀρχου- σιν.	Aser, pinguis panis ejus, et praebebit delicias regibus.	Aser, the fat breed of hym, and he shall geue delices to kyngis.	Aser his breed schal be plenteouse, and he schal geue delcis to kyngis.	Von Asser kompt sein fett Brot Und er wirt den Königen zu Gefal- len thun.	Off Asser cometh fatt breed, and he shall geue pleas- ures for a kyng.	Follows L in con- necting the with אשר as it now appears, in- stead of with the preceding word according to LXX and V.

Gen. 40:22	Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
	בן פרת יוסף בן פרת על־ידי בנות צמרה על־שור; המררה הרבו השטמה כלל הצעם; השטב בארץ קשרו ויפדו דעו ידיו מידו אבר יקב משם היה אבן ישראל; מל אבד היחיד ראו שדו ברכן ברכת שמים מעל ברכת הדום רבעת חדת ברכת שדים ורום;	Υἱὸς ἡθελμείος Ἰωσήφ, υἱὸς ἡθελμείος μου ἡθελμείος υἱὸς μου νεώτατος πρὸς μὲ ἀνάστρεψαν. εἰς ὃν διαβουλεύμενον ἐλαδέρουν, καὶ ἐνεῖχον αὐτὸν εὐροιστοῦνματων, καὶ συνετρίβη μετὰ κράτους τὰ τόξα αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐξέλυθη τὰ νεῖρα βραχιόων χειρὸς αὐτῶν γων χεῖρα ἀνίστατο δια χεῖρα ἀνίστατο λααβή· ἐκείθεν δὲ κατισχύσας Ἰσραὴλ παῖλ. παρὰ θεοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς σου, καὶ ἐβρόχη· σὲν σοι ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐμός, καὶ ἐλογγῶ σὲν σε εὐλογῶν οὐρανὸν ἀνωθεν, καὶ εὐλογῶν γῆν ἐχούσῃ πάντα· ἐνεκεν εὐλογίας μαστῶν καὶ μήτρας,	Filius accrescens Joseph, filius accrescens et decorus aspectu; filiae discurrent super murum. Sed exasperaverunt eum, et iurgati sunt, invideruntque illi habentes jacula. Sedit in forti arcus ejus, et dissoluta sunt vincula brachiorum et manuum illius per manus potentis Jacob; inde pastorem egressus est lapis Israel. Deus patris tui erit adiutor tuus, et omnipotens benedicet tibi benedictionibus caeli desuper, benedictionibus abyssi jacentis deorsum, benedictionibus uberum et vulvae.	The sone accresyng, Joseph, the sone acresyng, and seemly in sigt; the doughtis hider and thider remeden vpon the wal, vpon the egiden hym out, and streuen, and envyden to hym, haudinge dartis.	Joseph, a sone encresyng, a sone fair in bholylng; doughtis runnen aboute on the wal, But hise brithren wraththeden hym, and chidden, and that hadden dartis and hadden envye to hym. His bowe sat in the stronge, and the bowen ben the bondis of armes, and of the bondis of hym bi the hoord of the myghti of Jacob; of hym a shepheard gede out, the stoon of Israel.	Joseph wirt wachsen er wirt wachsen wie an einer quelle die Tochter treten cypher im Regiment. Und wiewol in die Schutzen erzürnen und wider in kriegeln und verfolgen so bleib doch sein Bogen fest und die arm seiner hande stark durch die hände desz mächtigen in Jacob ausz ihnen sind kommen Hirten und steine in Israel. Von deines Vaters Gott ist die helffen und von dem Almächtigen bist du geseget mit Segen oben vom Himmel herab mit segen von der Tieffe die hunden ligt mit segen an Brüsten und Beuchen.	That florishyng childe Joseph, that florishyng childe and goodly vn to the eye: the doughters come forth to bere ruele. The shooters haue envyed him and chyd with him and hated him, And yet his bowe bode fast, & his armes and his hande were stronge, by the handes of the myghtye God of Iacob: out of him shall come an herde man a ston in Israel. Thi fathers God shall helpe the, & the almightie shall blesse the with blessinges from heaven aboue, and with blessinges of the water that lieth vnder, & with blessinges of the brestes & of the wombes.	Follows V (H P) against L. Follows L's wild conjecture. "Envyed" from V H; "chyd" from P; "hated" is independent and wrong. Disregards L's loose plurals, but does not correctly translate the construct, as does V. Omits ב, which is noticed by LXX and L.
23								
24								
25								

Gen. 40:26	Heb.	LXX	V	II	P	L	T	REMARKS
	בכח אבד גבר על- ברכת הורר עבד האות בבית פולם הוררין לראש רסס ולקדקד נזר אחר:	εὐλογίας πατρὸς σου καὶ μαγιστὸν σου. ὑπερίσχυεν ἐπ' εὐλογίας ὁρέων μουμουον, καὶ ἐπ' εὐλογίας θεοῦ σου ἀνίσταν. ἔσονται ἐν κεφαλῇ σου σὴν, καὶ ἐν κορυ- φῇ σου ἡγῆσαιο ἀδελφῶν.	henedictiones patris tui confortatae sunt benedictionibus patrum ejus, donec veniret desiderium collum aeterno- rum, fiant in capite josephi, et in ver- tice Nazareth inter fratres suos.	The blessingis of thi fader ben com- fortit with the blessingis of his faderis of hym, to the tyme that were comen the desyre of euerlastynge hillis; ben thei maad in the heed of joseph, and in the heed of Naza- rei amonge his bretheren.	The blessingis of thi fadir ben counfortit, the blessingis of his fadiris, til the desyre of euerlastynge hillis cam; bless- yngis ben maad in the heed of Joseph, and in the nol of Nazarei among his britheren.	Die segen deines Vate- ters gehen stercker denn die seg- nen meiner Vorältern (nach wunsch der Hohen in die Welt) und sollen kom- men auff das Haupt Joseph und auff die Scheitel des Nasir unter seinen Brüd- ern.	The blessinges of thy father were stronge: euen as the blessinges of my elders, after the desyre of the best in the worlde, and these blessinges shall fall on the head of Ioseph, and on the toppe of the head of him yt was separat from his brethern.	Disregards L's cor- rect translation. Follows L's fantastic conjecture. Independent in trans- lating נזיר .
De. 32: 4	הצור המים פעלו פי כל- הכרו משפט אל אמונה ואין עול אדיר והשר הוא:	θεός, ἀληθινὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ, καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ δόξαι αὐτοῦ κρι- σεις· θεός πιστός, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄδ- ικα· δίκαιος καὶ ὁστος Κύριος.	Dei perfecta sunt opera, et omnes viae ejus iudicia; Deus fidelis, et absque ulla iniqui- tate, justus et rec- tus.	Of God perfitt ben the workys, and alle his weyes domes; a trewe God, and with outen eny wickidnes, rygt wis and euen.	The werkis of God hen perfitt, and alle hise weites ben domes; God is feithful, and with- out ony wickid- nesse; God is iust and rigthful.	Er ist ein Fels seine Werk sind unsträflich Denn alles was er thut das ist recht. Trew ist Gott und kein böses an im Gerecht und fromb ist er.	He is a rocke and perfecte are his deades, for all his wayes are with dis- crecion. God is faithfull and with- out wekednesse, both righteous and juste is he.	Avoids the bold Heb. figure. His para- phrases independ- ent.
5	שחת לו לא בני מומם הר עקש ותחלתו:	ἠμύρυσαν, οὐκ αὐτῷ τέκνα, μωμητὰ γε- νέα σκολιὰ καὶ διε- στραμμένη.	Pecceaverunt ei, et non filii ejus in sordibus; genera- tio prava atque perversa.	Thai han synned to hym, and not hise sones in filthis; shrewid kynred, and mysturnyd.	Thet synneden agens hym, and not hise sones in filthis; that is, of idolatry; schrewid and wai- ward generacioun.	Die verkebrete und böse art sellet von ab Sie sind Schandtdecken und nicht seine Kinder.	The frowarde and ouerthwarte gen- eration hath marred them selves to himward, and are not his sonnes for their deform- ities sake,	Independent render- ing of מומם , in keeping with the context, which L's is not.

HEB.	LXX.	V.	H.	P.	L.	T.	REMARKS.
כִּשְׁבֵּר יַעֲרִי קִרְיָ עַל-גִּזְעוֹלָיו יִרְחֹב חֲנוּכָּת שְׂרֵי וְנִקְוָה הִבֵּשׁ מִסְכֵּי הַבָּשָׂן מִחֲלָמוֹשׁ צוּר :	ὡς ἀνὴρ ἀκρόσται νοστήσαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς νοσσοῖς ιρροῦ ἐκπαύσας, διὰ τὰς πύργους αὐτοῦ ἰδεῖται αὐ- τοῦς, καὶ ἀνέλαβεν αὐτοῦς ἐπὶ τὸν με- ταπέριον αὐτοῦ.	Scut aquila provo- cans ad volandum pullos suos, et super eos voltans, expandit alas suas, et assumit eum, atque portavit in humero suis.	As an eagle forth- cleaving his bryddis to flec, and he sprade out his weings, and took to hym, and beer in his shuldres.	As an eagle sūrynde his briddis to fle, and fleyng on hem, he spredde forth his wyngis, and took hem, and bar in hise schul- dris.	Wie ein Adler auszfliehet seine Jungen und ober jnen schwebet, Er breitet seine Flüg- el aus und nam in und trug sie auf seinen Flügeln.	As an eagle that stiereth vpp hyr nest and floreth, ouer hyr younge, he stretched oute his wynges and toke hym vpp and bare hym on his shul- ders.	Independent, literal rendering of Heb.
וְכִשְׁבֵּר עַל- בְּמִוְתֵי אֵיזֵן הַיָּאֵל חֲנוּכָּת שְׂרֵי וְנִקְוָה הִבֵּשׁ מִסְכֵּי הַבָּשָׂן מִחֲלָמוֹשׁ צוּר :	ἀνέβησαν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἰσχυρὴν τῆς γῆς, ἐβόησαν αὐ- τοὺς γενήματα ἀγρίων, ἐθλάσαν μέλα ἐκ πέτρας, καὶ ἐλαον ἐκ στρεπῶς πέτρας.	Constituit eum super excelsam terram, ut comederet fruc- tus agrorum, ut sugreret mel de petra, oleumque de saxo durissimo;	He sette hym on an highe erthe, that he mygte ete the fryuys of feedes, that he mygte sowke hony of the stoon, and oyle of the moost hard stone;	The Lord ordeynede hym on an highe lond, that he schulde ete the fryuys of feedis, that he schulde souke hony of a stoon, and oyle of the hardeste roche;	Er liesz in hoch her fahren auf Erden und nehet in mit den Früchten desz Feldes. Und liesz in Honig sougen ausz den Felsen und Oel ausz den harten Steinen.	He sett him vpp upon an hye londe, and he ate the encrease of the feldes. And he gaue him honye to sucke out of the rocke, and oyle out of the harde stone.	Follows Heb. V in stead of L.
חֲמַת בָּקָר חֲלֵב צֹאן עֲסֹחֲלֵב כִּרִּים וְאֵילִים בָּנִי- בִּשְׁנֵי רֵעֵהוּ עֲסֹחֲלֵב כִּנְרוֹת חֶמֶה הַסִּינִי הַשְּׂהָה חֲמֹר :	βοῦτῶν βοῶν καὶ γάλα προβάτων μετὰ στίχας νε- φῶν νεφῶν, καὶ αἶμα σταφυλῆς ἐπὶεν οἶνον,	Butyrum de armento, et lac de ovibus cum adipe agno- rum, et arictum filiorum Basan; et hircos cum medul- la tritici, et san- guinem uvae bi- beret meracissi- mum.	Butte of the drone, and mylk of sheep, with the tolgw of loombs and of wethers, of the sones of Basan; and goot with margh of whete, and blood of grapis mygte drynk moost cleer.	Boere of the drone and mylke of sheep, with the fatnesse of lam- bren and of ram- mes, of the sones of Basan; and that he schulde ete kydis with the merowe of wheete, and schulde drynke the cleerst blood of grape.	Butter von den Kühen und Milch von Schafen samt dem fetten von den Lämern. Und feizte Wider und Böcke mit fetten Nieren und Weytzen und träncket in mit gutem Trauben- blut.	With butter of the kyne and mylke of the shepe, with fatt of the lambes ad fatt rammes and he gaotes with fatt kidneys and with whete. And of the bloude of grapes thou dronkest wyne.	Follows L. in omit- ting בִּנְיָ בִּשְׁנֵי

Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
Di. 32:15	καὶ ἔφαγεν Ἰακώβ καὶ ἐνεπλήσθη, καὶ ἀπελάττει οὐ γὰρ κρέας, ἀλλὰ ψαῖμα, ἐπαχύνθη, ἐπλάτυνθη. καὶ ἐκατέλυεν τὸν θῶν τὸν ποιμαίνοντα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀπέστη, ἀπὸ θεοῦ σωτήρος αὐτοῦ.	Incrassatus est dilectus, et recalcitravit, incrassatus, impinguatus, dilatatus, dereliquit Deum factorem suum, et recessit a Deo salutari suo.	Ful fat maad is the loured, and agen wynsed; fullulid, ful gresid, outlargid; he haft God his maker, and geed alak fro God, his gyuer of heath.	The loured pople was maad fat, and kikkide agen; maad fat without forth, maad fat with yune, and alargid; he forsook God his makere, and gele awei fro God his helthe.	Da er aber fett und satt ward ward er Geyl. Er ist fett und dick und stark worden. Und hat den Gott fahren lassen der in gemacht hat. Er hat den Felsz seines Heyls geringe geacht.	And Israel waxed fat and kyked. Thou wast fatt, thicke and smothie, And he let God goo that made him and despyed the rocke that saued him.	Paraphrases instead of any the alternatives of LXX V L.
יִרְבֵּחוּ לְשׂוֹרִים לֹא אֵלֹהִים אֵלֵהֶם לֹא יִדְעוּם הַדְרִישׁ מִקְרֵב בָּאֵר לֹא שִׁעְרִים אֲבָחִיכֶם :	ἐθυσαν δαυμονίους καὶ οὐ θεῶν, τοῖς οἷς οὐκ ἤδεισαν, καὶ οἱ πρόσβατοι ἤκασιν, οὓς οὐκ ἤδεισαν οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν.	Immolaverunt daemoniis, et non Deo, quos ignorabant; novi recentioresque venerunt, quos non coluerunt patres eorum.	Thei offriden to deuels, and not to God, to goddis whiche thei knewen not, newe goddis, and freisch kamen, whiche thei herieden not the faders of hem.	Thei offriden to feendis, and not to God, to goddis whiche thei knewen not, newe goddis, and freisch kamen, whiche the faders of hem worschipiden not.	Sie haben den Feldtuffen geopffert und nicht frem Gott den Göttern die sie nicht kenneten Den neuwers die vor nich gewest sind die ewere Vätter nicht geehret haben.	They offered unto feldebeuels and not to God, and to goddes which they knewe not and to newe goddes that came newly vpp whiche their fathers feared not.	Adopts L's word.
מִזֵּי רֶעֶב וְלֹחֲמֵי רֶשֶׁת וְקִטְבֵּי מְרִירָה וְשֹׂרְבֵי חֵמָת אֲשֶׁלְּחֵבֶם עֲסֻחֵהֶם זֶהֱלֵ עֵפֶר :	ταρώμενοι, λιψὴ καὶ βρωσσει σπρίμω, καὶ οὐκ ἐσθίουσιν ἀνίας τοῦ ὀδύοντος θύριων ἀποστρέλω εἰς αὐτοὺς, μετὰ θυμοῦ συροῦσιν ἐπὶ γῆν.	Consumuntur fame, et devorantur eos aves morsu amarissimo; dentes bestiarum immittunt in eos, cum furore trahuntium super terram atque serpentium.	Thei shulen be wastid with hungir, and briddis shulen deuour hem in laiding moost bitter; teeth of bistis I shal sende in hem, with woodnes of hem drawinge on erthe, and creeping.	Thei shulen be waastid with hungir, and briddis shulen deuoure hem with lattissime biting; Y shal sende in to hem the teeth of beestis, with the woodnesse of wormes drawinge on erthe and of serpentis.	Für Hunger sollen sie verschlachten und verzehret werden vom Fieber und jehem Tod. Ich wil der Thier Zehne unter sie schicken und Schlängengift.	Burnt with hungre ad consumed with heel and with bitter pestilence. I will also sende the teche of beastes vppon them and poyson serpentes	Independent and wrong. Follows L in omitting עֵפֶר but turns "Schlangengift" around.

	Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
De. 32:25	מחץ השכל חרב ומחריים אימה גס-חבור בסבתולה ינק עס-איש :שיבה	ἐξέθεν ἀνέκασται αὐ- τοὺς μάχαρι, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ταπεινῶν ὄψ- εας· νεανίσκος σὺν παρθένῳ, θηλάζων μετὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸς πρεσβύτου.	Foris vastabit eos gladius et intus pavor juvenem simul ac virginem, lactentem cum homine sene.	With out forth shal waast hem swerd, and with yn forth dreded; the gong to gilre and may- den, the sowkyng with the old man.	Sword with outforth and dreded with ynne schal waaste hem; a gong man and a virgyn to gilre, a sowkyng child with an elde man.	Auswendig wirt sie das Schwerdt be- rauben und inn- wendig das schrecken beyde Jünglinge und Jungkfrauen die Säuglinge mit dem grawen Mann.	Without forth, the swerde shall robbe the off their children: and wythin in the chamber, feare: both younge men and younge wemen and the suckelynges with the mē of gray herdes.	Independent, literal, and vivid.
26	אמר אפיהם אשכיהם מאנו זכרם:	εἶπα Διασπερώ αὐ- τοὺς, παύσω δὲ ἐξ αὐθρότων τὸ μη- μόσυνον αὐτῶν.	Dixi: Ubina sunt? cessare faciam ex hominibus memo- riam eorum.	And I seide, Where forsothe ben they? to ceese Y shal maak fro men the mynde of hem.	And Y seide, where ben they? Y shal make the mynde of hem to ceesse of men.	Ich wil sagen: Wo sind sie? Ich werde jr gedäch- nisz aufheben unter dē Mensch- en.	I have determeued to scatter the therowout the worlde, ad to make awaye the reme- braunce of them from amonge men.	Follows LXX, para- phrasing slightly; rejects the erro- neous rendering of V (H P) L.
27	לולי כעס אוב אור פרעכר צרמר פראמרו דער רמה ולא דחור פל :כדחא:	εἰ μὴ δει' ὀργὴν ἐχθρῶν, ὅσα μὴ μα- κροποιήσωσιν, ἵνα μὴ συνεπιθώραιοι ἐν hostes eorum, εἰ- πασιν ἡ χυρὴμῶν ἢ ὑψηλὴ καὶ οὐχὶ Κύριος ἐπαύσεν ταῦτα πάντα.	Sed propter iram ini- micorum distuli, ne forte superbi- rent hostes eorum, et dicerent: Manus nostra ex- celsa, et non Domi- nus, fecit haec omnia.	But for the wrath of enemies I hatte for a while, lest per- aurenture wolden waxe provide the enemies of hem, and seye, Oure highe boond, and not the Lord, hath doon alle thes things.	But Y delayed for the yre of enemies, lest peraventure the enemies of hem shulden be proude, and seie, Oure hig hand, and not the Lord, dide alle these thingis.	Wenn ich mit den zorn der Feinde scheuwete dasz nicht jre Feinde stoltz würden un müchten sagen: Unser Macht ist hoch und der Herr hat nicht solches alles gethan.	Were it not that I feared the rayl- ynge off theyr enemies, lest there aduersaries wold be provide and saye: our hye hande hath done al these workes and not the Lorde.	Rejects L's loose paraphrase
28	כדורי אבר עצות המה ואין בהם :חכמה:	ἐβλος ἀπολακεδὲς βουλῆν ἔστιν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἰσότημη.	Gens absque consilio est, et sine pruden- tia.	Folk with out coun- sel it is, and with out wisdom;	It is a folk without counsel and with- out prudence;	Denn es ist ein Volk da kein Rath inn ist und ist kein Verstand in jnen.	For it is a nation that hath an vn- happy forecast, and hath no vn- derstonge in them.	Independent and wrong

	Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
De. 32: 43	הרניני גרים עמו כי דם- עבריו יקום לנפשו רשע וצקו וכפר אדמתו עמו:	ἐφραίνθητε, οὐρανὸν καὶ προ- σκυνήσατε αὐ- τὸν υἱὸν θεοῦ· ἐν- φραίνθητε, ἔθνη, με- τὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπισκυσήσατε αὐ- τὸν πάντες ἄγγε- λοι θεοῦ· ὅτι τὸ αἷμα τῶν υἱῶν αὐ- τοῦ ἐδικάσθη, καὶ ἐδικύησεν, καὶ ἀντα- ποδώσεται δικὴν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς· καὶ τοῖς μισοῦσιν αὐτὰν πο- δώσει, καὶ ἐκαθά- ρσει Κύριος τὴν γῆν τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐφείσται τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάντες οἱ ἠγαπῶμενοι ὑπὸ τὰς χεῖρας σου· καὶ οἱ ὄντοι ὑπὸ σέ εἰσιν, καὶ ἐδέξατο ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ,	Laudate gentes popu- lum ejus, quia san- guinem servorum suorum ulciscetur, et vindictam re- tribuet in hos- tibus eorum, et propiti- us erit Terrae populi sui.	Preyse ge gentilis, the puple of hym, for the blood of his servauntis he shall wreck, and veni- once he shal quyte into the enemies of hem, and he shal be merciful to the erthe of his puple.	Folkis, priske ge the puplis of hym, for he schal venie the blood of his ser- vauntis, and he schal golde veni- aunce in to the enemies of hem; and he schal be merciful to the lond of his puple.	Jauchzet alle die ir sein Volk seyt Denn er wil das Blut seine Knechte rechnen. Und wirt sich an seinen Feinden rechnen un gnädig seyn dem Lande seines Volcks.	Reioyse helthen wyth hys people, for he will avenge the bloude off his ser- vautes, and wyl avenge hym off hys adversaries, and wilbe mercytfull vnto the lond off hys people.	Independent and wrong (though this reading is adopted by the Revisers)
33: 3	אם חבב עמי כל- קדשיו בידך היום חכו לרגלך רשא מברחריך:	καὶ ἐφείσται τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάντες οἱ ἠγαπῶμενοι ὑπὸ τὰς χεῖρας σου· καὶ οἱ ὄντοι ὑπὸ σέ εἰσιν, καὶ ἐδέξατο ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ,	Dilexit populos, om- nes sancti in manu illius sunt, et qui appropinquant pe- dibus ejus, accipi- ent de doctrina illius.	He louede puples; alle seyntis in the hoond of hym ben, and that neigen to the feet of hym, shulen taak of the loor of hym.	He louede puplis; alle seyntis ben in his hond, and thei that neigen to his feet shulen take of his doc- tryn.	Wie hat er die Leute so lieb? Alle seine Heyligen sind in deiner Hand Sie werden sich setzen zu deinen Füssen un wer- den lehren von deinen worten.	How loued he the people? All his sayntes are in his hond. They roynded themselves vnto thy fote and receaued thi wordes.	Follows L in making EX interrogative, Follows V (H P) against Heb. LXX L.
5	ודעו בשרונו מלך בהחצות האש עם יהוה שכני ישראל:	καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῷ ἡγα- πημένῳ ὄχλῳ σου, καὶ ἐφείσται τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάντες οἱ ἠγαπῶμενοι ὑπὸ τὰς χεῖρας σου· καὶ οἱ ὄντοι ὑπὸ σέ εἰσιν, καὶ ἐδέξατο ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ,	Eni apud rectissi- mum rex, congre- gatis principibus populi cum tribu- bus Israel.	And there shal be anentis the moost regia kyng, the princis of the puple gedrid with the lynagis of Yrael.	And the king schal be at the moost rigt- ful, whanne princes of the puple shulen be gaderid togidre with the lynagis of Israel.	Und er verwalter das Ampt eines Kön- iges und hielt zu- sammen die Hüp- per desz Volcks sampt den Stäm- men Israel.	And he was in Israel kinge when he gathered the heedes of the people and the tribes of Israel to gether.	Renders ישראל as before.

	HEB.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
Dt. 33: 6	הרי ראובן אל-ימית יהיה מיתו מספר;	Ζῆτω 'Ραυβὴν καὶ μὴ ἀποθανέτω, καὶ ἔστω πολὺς ἐν ἀβραμῇ.	Vivat Ruben, et non moriatur, et sit parvus in numero.	Lyeu Ruben, and dye he not, and be he littel in nombre.	Ruben lyeu, and die not, and be he littel in nombre.	Ruben lebe und ster- be nicht und sein Pöbel sey gering.	Ruben shall lye and shall not dye: but his people shalbe few in nombre.	Future for impera- tive; independent, wrong.
8	לכלוי אמר למיר האריך לאשר הסרד אשר נסתר במסה חריבה על-מי מריבה;	Καὶ τῷ Λευὶ εἶπεν Δόξε Λευὶ ἐλάσας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀνέβησαν αὐτοῦ τῷ ἀδελφῇ τῷ δόςῃ, ὃν ἐτίμασαν αὐτὸν ἐν Πείρᾳ, ἐλθοῦσιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ὕδατος Ἀντιλο- γίας.	Levi quoque ait: Per- fectio tua, et doc- trina tua viro sanc- to tuo, quem pro- basi in tentatione, et iudicasti ad aquas Contradic- tionis.	Forsothe to Leuy he seith, Thi perfec- cioun and thi loor for thin hooli man, whom thou hast preued in templa- cioun, and hast demed at the Wa- tris of Agensei- yng;	Also he seide to Leuy, Thi perfec- cioun and thi techyng is of an hooly man, whom thou preuedist in templacioun and demedist at the Warris of Agen- seyng;	Und zu Leui sprach er. Dein Ruch und dein Liecht bleibe bey deinem heyligen Mann den du versucht hast zu Masa da jr ha- deret an Hader- wasser.	And vnto Leui he said: thy per- fectnesse ad thi light be after thy mercifull ma who thou temptest at Masa ad with whom thou stru- edst at the waters of strife.	Independent, wrong.
13	וליוס אמר מברכת יהוה אוצר ממנה שמים מכל המחיים הבצת חתם:	Καὶ τῷ Ἰωσήφ εἶπεν 'Ἐπὶ εὐλογίας Κυ- ρίου ἡ γῆ αὐτοῦ, ἀπὸ ὧσαν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἐρᾶσον, καὶ ἀπὸ ἀβυσσων πη- γῶν κάτωθεν,	Joseph quoque ait: de benedictione Domini terra ejus, de pomis caeli, et de pomis abyssor- um, atque abyssor- um subiacentie: de po- mis fructuum solis ac lunae;	Forsothe to Joseph he seith, Of the blessynge of the Lord the loond of hym; of the applis of heuene, and of the dewe, and of the see underlig- ging; of applis of the fruyt of sunne, and of moone;	Also he seide to Joseph, His loond is of the Lordis blessyng; of the applis of heuene, and of the dewe, and of watir lig- gyng bynthe.	Und zu Joseph sprach er: Seim Land ligt im Segen dess Herrn	And vnto Joseph he said: blessed of the Lorde is his londe with the goodly frutes off heauen, with dewe and with sprynges that lye beneath:	omits these clauses but T renders them complete.
14	וממנו הבוצא שמש וממנו גרש ירחים:	καὶ καὶ ὧσαν γενή- ματος ἡλίου τρο- πῶν, καὶ ἀπὸ συνό- δων μεσσην,	De vertice anti- quorum montium, de pomis collium aeternorum,	And of the cop of the oold moun- teyns, and of applis of euerlastynge hillis;	of the coppe of elde munteyns, and of the applis of euer- lastynge litle hillis;	Da sind edle Früchte von den Sonnen und edle reiffe Früchte der Mon- den.	And with frutes of the increase of the some and wyth rype frute off the monethes, and with the toppes of mountaynes that were from the be- gynnyng and with the dayntes of hillis that last euer and	An inprobable con- jecture. Does not follow L's conjecture.
15	המראש ההרריקים הממנה גבעות שונים:	ἀπὸ κορυφῶν ὀρέων ὄρεων, καὶ ἀπὸ κο- ρυφῶν βουνῶν αἰ- ωνῶν,				Und von den hohen Bergen gegen Mor- gen und von den Hügeln für und für und edlen.		

Heb.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
Dr. 33: 16	καὶ καθ' ὅραν γῆς πληρώσεως· καὶ τὰ δεκτὰ τῆς ὑψηλότητος ἐν τῷ βᾶτω ἑλθοῦ- σαν ἐπὶ κεφαλῇ Ἰωσήφ, καὶ ἐπὶ κο- ρυβῆς Δαυὶδ καὶ ἐπ' ἀδελφοῦς.	et de frugibus terrae, et de plenitudine eius; benedictio Illius, qui apparuit in rubo, veniat super caput Jo- seph, et super ver- ficem nazaraei inter fratres suos.	And of fruytis of the erthe, and plenie of it, Bless- yng of hym that aperyde in the busshe come vpon the heed of Jo- seph, and vpon the fortop of Nazarey among his breth- eren.	and of the fruytis of the lond, and of the fulnesse thereof. The blessyng of hym that apperide in the busch come on the heed of Joseph, and on the cop of Nazarey among his breth- eren.	Fruchten von der Erden und was drinnen ist. Die Grade desz der in dem Busch wohnete komme auff das Haupt Jo- seph und auff den Scheitel desz Nasir unter schen Brüdern.	With goodly frute of the erth and off the fulnesse there of. And the good will of him that dwelth in the bush shall come vpon the heed of Joseph and vpon the toppie of the heed of him that was separated from amonge his breth- eren	
כבר שורר הדר לו רקני הם קרניו בהם עמדי נבתי הדר הם רבבתי אפרי הדר אפרי מנשה;	πρωτότοκος ταύρου τὸ κάλλος αὐτοῦ, κέ- ρατα μονοκέρωτος τὰ κέρατα αὐτοῦ; ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐθνη κε- ρατίζει ἅμα εὖς ἐπ' ἀκρον γῆς. ἀδυνα- μυρίαδες Ἐφραΐμ, καὶ αὐτὰ χιλιάδες Μανασσή.	Quasi primogeniti tauri pulchritudo eius, cornua rhi- nocerotis cornua illius, in ipsis veni- tialit gentes usque ad terminos Ter- rac; hae sunt mul- titudines Ephraim, et haec millia Manasse.	As of the first geden bood the feines of hym; hornes of an vnicorn the hornes of him, in hem he shal wyndowe gen- tilys, vnto the ter- mes of the erthe. Thes ben the mul- titudys of Efraym, and thes thou- sands of manasse.	As the first gendril of a hole is the feinesse of hym; the hornes of an vnicorn ben the hornes of hym; in tho he schal wyndene folkis, tyl to the termes of erthe. These ben the multitudes of Efraym, and thes ben the thou- sands of Man- asses.	Seine Herrlichkeit ist wie ein Ersege- borner Ochse und seine Hörner sind wie Einhör- ners Hörner. Mit denselbigen wirt er die Völker stossen zuhauß lasz an das Landes ende Das sind die tau- send Ephraim und die tausend Manasse.	His bewtye is as a firstborne ox and his hornes as the hornes of an vni- corn. And with them he shall push the nacions to- gether, euen vnto the endes of the worlde. These are the many thousandes of Eph- raim and the thou- sandes off Man- asse.	Translates again. Follows V L, which do not strictly ren- der the Heb.
17							

HEB.	LXX	V	H	P	L	T	REMARKS
<p>אין כאן ישן רכב שמים בעור ובנאורו שחקים: מכה אלה קדם ומחוח זרע עולם יגיש מפני אורב ויאמר השמו: 27</p>	<p>οὐκ ἔστιν ὡσπερ ὁ θεὸς τοῦ ἡγαπημέ- νου· ὁ ἐπιβαίων ἐπὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν βοηθός σου, καὶ ὁ μεγαλοπρεπὲς τοῦ σπερώματος· καὶ σκεπάζει σε θεὸς ἀρχή· καὶ ὑπὸ ταχύν βαχύνων ἀνών· ἐμβαλεῖ ἀπὸ προώπου σου ἐχθρὸν, λέγων· Ἀπό- λαύ.</p>	<p>Non est Deus alius, ut Deus rectissimi; ascensor caeli aux- iliator tuus, Mag- nificencia ejus dis- currunt nubes, habitaaculum ejus sursum, et subter brachia sempi- terna; efficit a- facie tua inimicum, dicetque: Con- terere.</p>	<p>There is noon other god as the moost right God; the stier of heuen thin helper, thurg the hilows doyng of hym to and fro ten- nen the clowdes. The dwellynge place of hym aboue, and vnder- ne the euerlastyng armys; he shall cast out fro thi face the enemy, and he shall seye Be thou to trode.</p>	<p>Noon other god is as the God of the most rightful; the stiere of heuene, thin helpe re, cloudis rennen about bi the glorie of hym. His dwellynge place is aboue, and armys euerlast- yng hen bynethe; he schal caste out fro thi face the enemy, and he schal seie, Be thou al to-brokm.</p>	<p>Es ist kein Gott als der Gott desz Gerechten der in Himmel sitz der sey deine Hülff und desz Herr- ligkeit in Wolcken ist Das ist die Wohnung Gottes von anfang und unter den Armen ewiglich. Und er wirt für dir her deinen Feindt ausztreiben und sagen : Sei verüblet.</p>	<p>There is none like vnto the God of the off Israel: he that sitteth vpon heauen shal be thine helpe, whose glorie is in the clowdes, that is the dwellinge place of God from the be- gynnyng and from vnder the armes of the worlde; he hath cast out thine enemies before the and sayed: de- stroye.</p>	<p>Translates ישן The passage puzzles all the translators. T follows L in the first clause, ventures into the realm of independ- ent conjecture in the second, with- out conveying any intelligible mean- ing. Follows V against L.</p>
<p>ישן ישראל בכח רכב עין יקרב אל-אין דין התרוש אש-שמי העפר-מל: 28</p>	<p>καὶ κατασκευάσει Ἰσραὴλ περὶ αὐτοῦ, μάλιστα ἐπὶ γῆς Ἰα- κώβ· ἐπὶ αὐτῶ καὶ οἶνον, καὶ ὁ οὐρανός σοι συνουφήης δρό- σψ.</p>	<p>Ita Iabit Israel con- fidenter, et solus. Oculus Jacob in terra frumenti et vini, caelique cali- gabunt rore.</p>	<p>Yrael shal dwelle trustilych, and aboue; the eye of Jacob in the lond of whete, and of wyn; and heuens schulen wexe derk thurg dewe.</p>	<p>Israel schal dwelle trestle and aloone; the ige of Jacob in the lond of whete, and of wyn, and heuenes schulen be derk with deu.</p>	<p>Israel wirt sicher allein wohnen Der Brunn Jacob wirt seyn auff dem Lande da Korn und Most ist dazu sein Himmel wirt mit Thaw triefen.</p>	<p>And Israel shall dwell in safetie alone. And the eyes of Jacob shall loke appon a londe of corne and wynce, morcouer his heauen shall droppe with dewe.</p>	

From such comparisons, carried through the Pentateuch, we discover: (1) that Tyndale did not make a literal, unaided version from the Hebrew, as if no other translation existed; (2) that he did not modernize and revise the work of Nicholas de Hereford and John Purvey; (3) that he did not make a translation from the Vulgate and then revise it by comparison with the Hebrew and Luther's version.

1. If Tyndale had confined himself to the Hebrew, referring only occasionally to the Vulgate or Luther for help on obscure passages, we should expect only occasional coincidences of phraseology and interpretation with those versions, and these in places where some special reason for difficulty existed. But this is not the condition shown by the parallel versions. In simple narrative prose there is little room for alternative renderings, hence examples taken from such material yield negative results: if Tyndale in such chapters follows V and L closely, it is simply because they in turn follow the Hebrew closely, and no one can say in any given verse which text lay before Tyndale's eyes when he wrote his translation of it. But coincidences in such passages as the three poetic chapters quoted afford positive evidence of borrowing, not only in the difficult, but in the easy verses. A Hebrew sentence in the poetic style, even though not obscure, may be translated with many more chances of variety than a prose sentence; and a large proportion of agreements with Luther here cannot be accidental.

But the comparison of the versions, even in the few passages presented in the preceding pages, establishes beyond any question what has sometimes been seriously denied—that Tyndale did use the Hebrew in his Pentateuch. The cases where he, against all the versions, renders the Hebrew literally are not numerous, but they are incontrovertible. Evidence of Tyndale's acquaintance with Hebrew, drawn from his own autobiographical references in his writings, and in the glossaries of proper names attached to the books of the Pentateuch, may be held by some judges not conclusive as to anything more than a smattering of the language. But these cases of independent correct rendering from the Hebrew imply thorough study.

It is to be noted that Tyndale learned, either from Luther's version or from his own study, much of the correct syntax of dependent clauses introduced by *Waw*. He translates many of these more in accordance with the correct principles of rendering Semitic idiom into English than our English translators of later times have shown. He is generally right in his treatment of the Hebrew tenses, abandoning the slavish literalness

of the Septuagint and Vulgate;¹ though here again one must often admit his indebtedness to Luther. In common with the ancient versions and with Luther, he sometimes ignores the construct as shown by the pointing and the absence of the article, which seems a rather serious fault in a translator. One characteristic difference from Luther is that he retains certain Hebrew idioms which lend themselves well to rhythms of English style; for example, where the Hebrew would say "sacrifices of righteousness," Luther would make it perhaps "righteous sacrifices," but Tyndale would keep the construct with the abstract noun. One might trace this idiom from Tyndale's Pentateuch down through the later translators of the Old Testament into its many ramifications in English prose style.

Tyndale is too honest to slip out of a difficulty by a vague paraphrase, as Luther did. Examples of this are found in the chapters quoted. In few cases did Tyndale possess the scholarship to hit on the correct clue to a puzzle due to corrupt text or a *hapax legomenon*; but he at least has the courage to abandon Luther when the German translator merely blinked the difficulty. Sometimes he prefers in such cases to cling to the time-honored rendering of Jerome; sometimes he offers his own conjecture, which is often wrong. There is at least a measure of independence in this attitude.

Tyndale was a much better scholar in Greek than in Hebrew, and we should therefore expect extensive use of the Septuagint. There are sufficient data to prove that he consulted it constantly; but, after all, it afforded him comparatively little assistance, because the chief value of this version—as a guide in textual emendation—was unknown in Tyndale's day. There is no evidence in Tyndale's Pentateuch, so far as the present writer has discovered, that he ventured a single emendation of the Masoretic text on textual grounds.²

2. As to the use made of the Wiclifite versions, Tyndale's own declaration that he derived no aid from them is on the whole supported by the comparison. Both Hereford's and Purvey's versions are not only Middle English, thoroughly obsolete in 1529, but they are very crabbed and unidio-

¹ This knowledge he used in his translation of the New Testament Greek. "If ought seme chaunged, or not alto gether agreyng with the Greke, let the finder of the faute cōsider the Hebrue phrase, or maner of speache left in the Greke wordes. Whose preterperfectence and presentence is of both one, and the futurtence is the optative mode also, and the futurtence is of the imperative mode in the active voyce and in the passive ever. Like wise person for person, nombre for nōbre, and interrogative for a condicionall and suche lyke is with the Hebrues a comon usage." ("Preface to N. T., William Tindale unto the Christian Reader.")

² See, for example, Gen. 49:19.

matic Middle English, because copied bodily, and often unintelligently, from the Vulgate. The case is far different from that of Wiclif's own version of the New Testament, connection between which and Tyndale's New Testament is much closer, as has been shown by writers on that subject. Where we find coincidences of phrase between Tyndale's Pentateuch and the two fourteenth-century versions, we can usually trace them to the common Latin source. Occasionally a combination of words occurs which cannot be referred to such a source, and we are led to surmise that Tyndale's recollection of versions doubtless familiar to him in early life influenced him in the choice of a phrase; but these instances are not sufficiently numerous to establish any presumption that he had a manuscript of either version before him in Germany.

3. Nothing is made clearer by the comparison than that the Vulgate was not Tyndale's basis in his work. He was fond of saying that Hebrew was much more like English than it was like Latin; and, indeed, he showed in many little ways that he had no love for the official ecclesiastical version. If he had worked directly and primarily from it, he could not have avoided many Latin idioms, especially in the syntax, which are absent from his translation. While no doubt influenced by the Vulgate in the choice of words, such as "create," "firmament," and many more, it is most certainly not the text from which he directly translated.

The conclusion at which we arrive, therefore, by the process of exclusion, is that Tyndale in translating his Pentateuch kept constantly before him the Hebrew text and Luther's version, with the Septuagint and Vulgate within easy reach, and fragments of the Middle English archaisms running through his mind as he worked; that he probably made his first draft from the German, checking it constantly by the Hebrew, and departing from it in nearly every case where he detected Luther in an evasion; that he carried into this work the same principle already established in his New Testament, of making an idiomatic English work in the language of the common people rather than of the learned; transferring such Semitic idioms as approved themselves to him as easily understood and more vigorous than paraphrase.

It has been pointed out, in the earlier part of this paper, that the unhappy fate by which Tyndale's Old Testament was cut off so near the beginning should not detract from the honor due to him as the father of Hebrew scholarship among Englishmen, and the author of the first version in English made from the Hebrew. To attempt to estimate his influence on the style of the men who completed the Old Testament after his death would lead us too far into the realm of conjecture. It will suffice to insist

that in the year 1529 there were many different ways of translating the five books of Moses, any one of which might have been adopted by an Englishman with Tyndale's equipment; many styles, most of which would have been Latinized, cumbrous, and periphrastic; and that of all these the one which we find in our Bible today is the style of Tyndale, which no Englishman had used before him. Whether one should call this a case of direct literary lineage, or should rather refer it to widely diffused linguistic influences which brought about a great change between the beginning and the middle of the sixteenth century, is a matter of opinion. If we bring into our field of view at this point Tyndale's New Testament, the popularity and influence of which were so much greater, there can remain no doubt that the martyr of Vilvorde deserves the pre-eminent rank so often accorded to Coverdale and the bishops who entered into the reward of his heroic labors.

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